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Editorial

The first volume of Adarsha Multiple Campus (AMC) Journal was published in February, 2020 by Research Management Cell (RMC) of Adarsha Multiple Campus, Dhading. Being a college outside the capital, it is not easy for publishing a research based academic journal. As editors of this journal, we encounter two major challenges: 1) to continue its publication, and 2) to ensure its quality. Due to Covid 19 pandemic, the number of students decreased in the college resulting in economic and other challenges. Primarily, our prospective contributors are lecturers, researchers and academicians. Though they got time for academic pursuits during prolonged lockdown, it was not possible to insist potential contributors to produce quality articles.

We could share our journal to few experts and met different stakeholders. The journal became a frequent topic during our conversation. Different feedbacks were deliberately collected. As per the suggestions, we applied for registration of our journal in NepJOL. After registration of the journal in NepJOL, it has been a dream journal for the authors. The access of our articles has been open to global readers. It can be accessed at <https://www.nepjol.info/index.php/amcj>. However, this could not result in profusion of contribution from authors.

Like in the Volume I, we screened the articles sent by the authors. In order to improve the quality of the articles, we provided prompt feedbacks. When the authors incorporated the feedbacks and sent them again, we forwarded them to expert reviewers. We employed double blind peer review method. Neither the expert reviewers knew the name of the authors nor did the authors know who the reviewers of their articles were. Due to our goodwill, expert reviewers managed time and provided feedbacks for authors in both cases: approval for publication or rejection.

The experts were free to recommend whether the article was publishable or not. We shared the feedbacks received from reviewers to the authors promptly. The authors incorporated the feedbacks of expert reviewers. Afterwards, the editors viewed the changes made and forwarded them to Nepali and English Language Departments for final language editing. Thus, contribution of valued authors and expert reviewers is very praiseworthy to come up with the second volume of AMC Journal.

The editorial team had ample patience for improving quality of the journal. Few experts were requested for providing feedbacks as well. Following them, the editors avoided the errors observed in the previous volume. Despite the efforts, there may have existed some unintentional flaws. We apologize with the readers for forgiving us and request for sharing suggestions for betterment of the journal in future.

We intensified our efforts after September 2020 for collecting the articles. We had long festivals during the period. Therefore, it was not possible to reach to wider circles of contributors so that we could receive more articles with fair quality. During the course of article collection, we found broadly three types of contributors viz. reluctant to write, willing to write but less capable to understand the instruction of the editors and sharp authors who have contributed quality articles.

Finally, we acknowledge the contributions of valued authors, and expert reviewers together with campus family, designer and printing press. This publication is a product of teamwork. We cannot help thanking the staff of Tribhuvan University Library for publishing our journal in NepJOL. We expect incessant supports from readers as well as different stakeholders to continue AMC Journal even in future.

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Health Seeking Processes of Leprosy Patients in a Hill District of Nepal

Dr.Ulla-Britt Engelbrektsson* & Prof. Madhusudan Subedi†

Abstract

To shorten delays in leprosy diagnosis, health-seeking processes have to be understood and documented. In 2015, the International Nepal Fellowship launched a three-year research project on the subject. One part of the project was a community study in which recent health-seeking efforts were to be studied in the light of earlier ones. The focus of this article is upon insights gained in field research in a village and its immediate surroundings in the district of Jajarkot, western Nepal. The result is a longitudinal, patient-focused study that covers the period from just before the start of leprosy services until late 2018. The research methods include participant observations, narratives, in-depth interviews, and documentary and statistical enquiries. The research shows that the introduction of the Multi Drug Therapy (MDT) in the early 1980s has drastically changed the local leprosy situation. The number of new cases has declined, there are far less impairments and disabilities, and those recognized as affected are no longer excommunicated. However, the delays before diagnosis tend to be long. A lack of leprosy being present diagnosing skills within the health services sector is one reason. The residents not recognizing early signs and symptoms is another. An expectation of leprosy endemic in certain kinship groups, and not in others, is yet another. And,

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for some, so is the fear of social stigma. Moreover, there is the delaying factor of more than one set of beliefs and practices in relation to leprosy: a traditional mainly magic-religious outlook and an approach which co-exists with allopathic (biomedical) views and methods.

Keywords: leprosy health-seeking, leprosy related beliefs, delays in leprosy diagnosis, social stigma, Nepal

Introduction

This section highlights the background of the study, the research project and earlier research in the area.

At the start of the National Leprosy Programme in Nepal (1974), the Government asked the International Nepal Fellowship (INF) to assist in the western half of the country. INF's work in the district of Jajarkot started five years later with various surveys. A year later, as one of the outcomes of the surveys, the district leprosy prevalence was estimated to be 157 cases per 10,000 population (International Nepal Fellowship, 1981). Shortly after, INF allocated a leprosy supervisor to work alongside government staff. The arrangement continued over the next 25 years.

In 2009, shortly before the official proclamation of 'leprosy elimination at a national level' (less than one person on leprosy treatment per 10,000 population at a specific date), the recorded point prevalence ratio for Jajarkot was 2.04 per 10,000 population (Leprosy Control Division, 2010). Seven years later, in 2016/17, with a total of 46 patients on leprosy treatment throughout the year, according to official statistics, the leprosy point prevalence for Jajarkot was 1.28 per 10,000 population (Leprosy Control Division, 2017). Parts of the recorded declines reflect the ending of a huge backlog and changes in definitions and in lengths of treatments (early treatments longer than later ones). Even so, Nepal has come a long way in combatting the disease. However, there is still some way to go.

The research project

To assist in the battle against leprosy, in early 2015, INF launched a research project in the western part of the country entitled "Delays in Diagnosis and Treatment, Leprosy in Nepal" ('the Delay project'). Included in the project was a community study in which current health-seeking efforts were to be researched in the light of those of an earlier date. The community chosen was the rural community of Dhobata in the hill district of Jajarkot. Previous

studies of leprosy health-seeking in Nepal were few, and not from the western part.

In Jajarkot, as in the rest of the country, most leprosy patients present voluntarily. Long delays aggregate negative consequences for individual and families and, in cases of infectious leprosy, increase the risk of the spread of the disease.

Earlier research in the area

The choice of community was steered by the existence of earlier leprosy-related studies in the area. INF's 1979/80 surveys in Jajarkot included active case finding surveys which, in some places, were combined with health education and a pre- and post-health education survey, the Leprosy Knowledge and Attitude Survey. One of the ten randomly selected sites for the latter was a ward within the Dhobata Village Panchyat. At each site, a pre-decided number of residents were interviewed face-to-face with the help of a mainly multiple choice questionnaire on the cause of leprosy, attitudes concerning leprosy, and expected behavior towards those affected. There was no final report on the outcome but in 1996 (see below), the reply data from six of the ten sites were recovered and analyzed. Shortly after the surveys, in Dhobata and its neighboring villages, Dr Robert Cardinalli, a social anthropologist, and his team, using both in-depth anthropological methods and quantitative survey techniques, time-allocation mapping in particular, researched the economic roles and the social status of leprosy affected persons within their families and within the wider social group. The studies in the field stretched over a year. The findings are presented in a massive unpublished report from 1982 (Cardinalli, 1982). And, 15 years later, in 1996, the main author of this article, also a social anthropologist, studied the situations of leprosy affected persons and families in Dhobata and its neighboring villages. The area was re-visited in 2009 and in 2010 and subject-relevant information on what had taken place since the earlier studies was gathered and new patients were identified and interviewed. In addition, in 2010, INF's earlier Leprosy Knowledge and Attitude survey was repeated in the previously surveyed Dhobata ward. The main findings from 1996 and the 2009 and 2010 follow-ups are reported on in a chapter of its own in a monograph by the main author of this article, published in 2012 (Engelbrektsson, 2012). Thus, there were leprosy-related ethnographic data to build upon and established networks to draw upon for the envisioned community study.

The study site

The village of Dhobata is situated north-east of the district headquarters, the Jajarkot Khalanga, at an altitude of 3,500m. There are two other villages and one sizeable off-shoot hamlet within one hour's walking distance. The

four settlements are ordinary Hindu *Parbatiya* (hill people) communities. The settlement patterns are dense. The primary means of livelihood was and is high altitude farming supplemented by animal husbandry. Land holdings are small. To make ends meet, dispensable men go south, mainly to India, for seasonal work and of late even further abroad and for longer periods of time. In each village, the high castes form a majority and have the economic, social, and political power. Families from the same lineage tend to live close to each other with frequent interaction. At the same time, social visiting between non-related households is limited and non-existent across caste boundaries.

In 1996, Dhobata, the largest unit, contained 89 households. There was a village school and radios but no electricity. Seventy percent of the high caste households had someone literate in the house whereas the same was true for only 20% of the Dalit ('low caste') ones. A day of hard walking on a dirt track was needed to reach the district headquarters. In 2018, there were somewhat more than 100 households, a paved road with bus transport to the district headquarters, solar panel electricity, and mobile phones. Alongside a higher level government school, there was also a private alternative and, most likely, at least one literate person per household.



The Map

Material and methods

Diverse material from the 1979/80 INF surveys found in one of the INF offices in Pokhara in early 1996, together with consultations with the supervisor of the Jajarkot Leprosy Knowledge and Attitude Survey and information found in the unpublished report by Dr Cardinalli, provided background information to the 1996 one-month field research with week-long follow-ups in 2009 and 2010. Histories of older and recent leprosy cases were gathered and when possible reviewed with those most directly involved: the person affected and family members. Medical records were scrutinized and discussed with local health workers. In addition, data located from INF's 1979/80 Knowledge and Attitude survey was statistically analyzed and examined.

Health-seeking processes were not a key topic in the material at hand, yet it contained subject-relevant information. In the 2016 field study and its follow-ups, some of the earlier interviewed patients were re-interviewed, now with a focus on health-seeking processes, and later patients were approached and interviewed about their health-seeking efforts, all in order to identify and document major factors of influence for leprosy delays over time within a local context, in this case the Dhobata area in the Hill district of Jajarkot.

In the later study, in 2016, and in the 2018 follow-ups, local health workers were contacted and various registers and patient files were examined. Homes were visited and key informants were questioned. Kinship charts were drawn and patients were interviewed face-to-face with the help of a pre-tested interview guide at a time and place convenient for them. Those approached were informed about the purpose of the study, that participation was voluntary, that interview information was confidential, and that there would be no reimbursement. Most respondents were met with more than once.

The historical period covered by the various research undertakings stretches from just before the start of local leprosy services until late 2018. Insights gained are presented as a longitudinal study in the form of a time-sequenced narrative, mainly organized around the 1996 study and its follow-ups and the 2016 study and its follow-ups. Both studies were headed by the first author of the present article, assisted by senior INF leprosy staff. The account is patient-focused. Being a mainly qualitative narrative, selected illustrations are used to exemplify general insights and conclusions (for details, see Ogden and Porter, 1999; Subedi 2018; Engelbrektsson et al. 2019). To protect the anonymity of persons, the names of places have been altered.

The ethnographic focus of the study is on leprosy-related ideas, experiences,

and practices of one local area in one of Nepal's remote districts. This limits the extent to which the findings can be generalized. However, the insights gained are expected to be valid for similar socio-cultural contexts of Nepal, in particular the Hindu *Parbatiya* (hill people) communities.

Major findings

Being a longitudinal study, the findings are presented in a time sequence.

Prior to the arrival of local treatment

Before the opening of the national borders of the Hindu kingdom of Nepal in 1951, health services for most residents, those in Jajarkot included, were primarily dispensed by shamans, priests, and herbalists. The first effective anti-leprosy drug, dapsone (DDS), reached Jajarkot in the late 1970s.

Pipalbot, one of the villages next to Dhobata, was particularly hard hit by leprosy. In the mid-1970s, a group of nine leprosy patients from Pipalbot together with two from another village led by a hired man from Dhobata (not leprosy affected), set out for Nepal's capital in search of treatment. Twenty years later, the man from Dhobata recounted:

"We walked slowly as some had troubles with their feet and others had bad eyesight. Some had deformities and some had ulcers, and people along the route were alarmed and told us not to get close. The youngest was twelve, the oldest nearly sixty. We brought provisions but had to buy some food and that was not easy as people did not want to sell to us. It took us 15 days to reach Raxaul (just inside India). From there we tried to get a bus to Kathmandu but the drivers didn't want us. Finally, I pushed them all into one bus. The bus owner was very angry and hit me with a shoe but we stayed put. We paid double fees and were taken along. We were in the back of the bus. It was dark when we arrived in Kathmandu. We started walking early the next morning and 24 hours later we arrived at the Anandaban hospital (the Leprosy Mission) where we were nicely received. Some were admitted, whereas others stayed just outside the hospital. A few weeks later, we started the return journey, some with medicines for one year, others with medicines for two years."

Most of those affected at the time, however, did not have the means to seek help outside the district and gradually their physical condition would deteriorate and because of it so would their social situation. In 1996, the next-door neighbor of our Dhobata host reported that some forty years earlier, first his mother and then his maternal uncle were forced out of the

village because of leprosy and some years later, so was his sister who had married into the off-shoot hamlet of Dhobata. *"We cried and we feared the disease would come to us also. No one came near our house."* His sister was twenty years of age when there were signs of leprosy. One shaman after another was consulted. Finally, one said, *"I am the god who gave this disease to your daughter. If you give me another daughter (for the shaman's son to marry) I will take this disease away!"* Their father (high caste) gave the youngest daughter to the shaman's son (not high caste). She died in fever within a year. Shortly after, the leprosy affected daughter was excommunicated. She was 25 years of age when found dead in her shelter in the forest.

In his report (1982), Dr Cardinalli notes that leprosy treatment had been available from the Jajarkot district hospital for some years. Supplies of drugs, however, were very irregular, and the hospital was usually not manned by doctors or technicians who were trained in the diagnosis and treatment of leprosy (p 94). Locally, he writes, leprosy was generally believed to be a punishment for sins and misdeeds committed in one's past life or lives (p 321). And, for those recognized as affected, there was a heavy loss of status both within and outside the household. He concludes: *"...the disease of leprosy is as much a social, cultural and psychological problem as it is a medical one"* (p 313).

He reports that the traditional community response to leprosy was avoidance and separation. Meanwhile, those affected were shy to display themselves in public. At the same time, the dominant patriarchal social structure gave male patients a better chance to withstand social pressure than females. However, because of the caste hierarchy, some males were socially more vulnerable than others. Thus, Dr Cardinalli says that those forced to live outside the village because of leprosy were mainly women and low caste men, and primarily those whose physical conditions were such that they were no longer able to contribute to the household economy (p 136).

In 1996, the before mentioned neighbor of our Dhobata host and others besides him reckoned that during his 60-year lifetime there had been 25 leprosy affected persons in Dhobata and its off-shoot hamlet. Only four were women. Except the six still present in the village, all had been put out or had left the area. Some had taken their own lives. *"The big change,"* he said, *"came with the team from Kathmandu and with the medicines."*

The 1979/80 INF health-education survey supervisor, Mr Mukhti Sharma, met with and interviewed in 1996, told that the surveying had been far from easy as the people in Jajarkot were afraid of outsiders, there was a scarcity of

food, and the terrain was extremely challenging. Notwithstanding, with six months in between, the pre- and the post-surveys (same questions), were carried out in ten wards, in each with a minimum of 40 respondents (half males, half under the age of 30). The idea of half having formal or informal education equal to an 8th class level was abandoned as there were too few around to meet the criteria. The one-hour health education programme was carried out not only in the survey-sample wards but in all the wards within their administrative units, i.e. also in Dhobata proper.

In 1996, as mentioned, the completed reply sheets from six of the ten wards were rediscovered and the data scrutinized and statistically analyzed on a ward basis as well as a whole. There were some variances, but the most striking feature was the uniformity in replies. The reply sheets from the ward within the Dhobata administrative unit were not found. However, Mr Sharma, testified to the replies from this ward not having differed from those of the other wards.

The main purpose of the Leprosy Knowledge and Attitude survey was to evaluate the impact of the health education efforts. When interviewed in 1996, Mr Sharma expressed a deep disappointment with the outcome. *"Knowledge was changed but not attitudes!"* he said, a statement to which he provided numerous examples. The same conclusion he expressed at the time in a dispatch to the main organizers. In regard to those excommunicated, he wrote, *"It is said that if cured from deformities they can stay in society but otherwise not!"* And, about those not yet excommunicated, *"...even when they know that a patient is on treatment, they will not touch him or her!"* To us he concluded, *"Only head-knowledge was changed – not attitudes and behavior!"*

The pre-education survey results revealed that leprosy, believed to be *contagious; inherited; a curse by the gods; fate; and due to attacks by ghosts/spirits*, was by far the most feared condition (> than 90%) in the district. The post-education survey results showed that the health education message about 'germs' (*kitaunu* - minute animals) had landed but only as one possible cause among others.

The early days of local treatment

Mr Sharma reported that at the time of the surveys, early signs and symptoms of the disease were not recognized as leprosy. *"To them,"* he said, *"a person affected by leprosy was a person 'like a log' - a person without hands and feet."* However, if there was known leprosy in a family, even those in an earlier stage of the disease could be ousted. *"Our key message",* he said, *"was that leprosy was curable and when on medicines no need to put anyone out."*

The nearest public health facility, the Gukulpur Health Post, served four administrative units, Dhobata with its neighboring villages being one of them. Before the arrival of the INF teams its leprosy register contained four patients registered for treatment. A year later the number was 80.

The treatment (dapson, DDS) was free of charge. Even so, not everyone affected wanted to be enrolled. A case in point was a well-known shaman and his daughter in one of the villages next to Dhobata. The shaman never showed up for an examination. The husband of his daughter, however, had his family examined. Three out of seven family members were found to be leprosy affected and were registered for treatment. The husband, a renowned shaman himself, and the son got started. The wife, however, refused to do so. She even had her examination card removed from the Health Post. She, like her father, claimed that her condition was not leprosy but 'a leprosy-like condition' imposed by the gods and therefore spiritual rituals (*pooja*) not medicines were called for.

In spite of the survey supervisor's disappointment, their messages of leprosy being curable and non-infectious after start of treatment had an impact, at least in Dhobata. Thus, shortly after the INF teams had left, the men of the village met and discussed what they had seen and heard. The decision made was to wait and observe what happened to those who were started on medicines. About 18 months later, the decision was that from then on 'the community' would not excommunicate anyone on leprosy medicines. Not everyone was happy with the decision, but it was taken. On our arrival fifteen years later, within the Dhobata administrative unit, only one person, a Dalit ('a low caste') woman, lived outside the community because of leprosy.

In 1996

The terrain was as challenging as earlier, the previous fear of outsiders, however, was no longer prominent. A letter of introduction from the district leader of the Red Cross, and certificates from Tribhuvan University and from the Regional health authorities resulted in the official Dhobata village leader welcoming us and our research, even to the degree that he made arrangements for us to live in one of his houses. He and his relatives even paved the way for multiple contacts within and outside the village. To government health service staff 'INF' was a known entity, the INF hospitals, in particular and our linkage to these, ensured good co-operation.

Ill-health flourished in Dhobata and adjacent villages. Shamans (*dhami/jhankri*) counteracted malevolent spiritual forces, herbalists/bone-

setters treated men and animals, pandits (Hindu priests) recited scripture portions and provided protective charms, and a few low-grade government health workers dispensed medicines to those who made their way to the Health Post. The Dhobata pandit suggested that according to ancient Hindu scriptures there were several types of leprosy. And he himself, he said, had cured some of the lesser ones.

In 1996, there were altogether 128 names in Gukulpur Health Post's leprosy register. The names suggested that three-quarters were of a high caste background, one quarter *Dalits*, and two of an ethnic group background. This was in line with the general caste distribution of the area but the male/female ratio, however, was clearly unbalanced with three males to every female.

The registered addresses indicated that 28 were from the Dhobata administrative unit. Of those, one person was probably from somewhere else. Four had left the area. Five had died. Eighteen were still around. We met and interviewed 15 of them and two who had registered and had their treatment elsewhere, and one who had had treatment without registration: 18 persons in total with three being women. During the follow-ups in 2009 and 2010, the situations of most of those previously interviewed were followed up and four new patients were included in the cohort, one of them a woman.

A surprising discovery in the Health Post's records was that almost 70% of those registered (63 M, 22 F) were classified as 'Out of Control' (OC). Some had died before having finished the treatment and others had moved away. Even so, obviously a large proportion of those who had started treatment did not complete it, at least not then and there.

In Dhobata, the suggested main reason for the high rate of defaulting was that several of those registered were persons with deformities and when they realized that the medicines would not 'cure' their deformities, they defaulted. In addition, the Health Post was not easy to reach, the staff were not friendly (they did not touch the leprosy patients and kept them waiting), and rumors suggested that the medicines were out of date.

The village decision had been that, after the start of treatment, no one would be expelled as long as his/her condition did not deteriorate. However, a new ulcer and the like were understood as the disease not having been properly 'killed' and thus a need for more medicines. And, over the years, many of those originally written off as 'OC' were restarted on leprosy medicines, some more than once. Meanwhile, the more effective Multi Drug Therapy (MDT) with shorter treatment periods had arrived.

One outcome of the INF case detection survey was the start of a monthly leprosy clinic at Gukulpur Health Post. It continued for more than twenty years. However, by the time of our stay it had come to an end and suspect cases were referred to the District hospital for diagnosing.

In Dhobata, 'leprosy' (*kor/kushta rog/maha rog*), like all major negative drawbacks in life, was perceived as an earned condition for misdeeds in this or in an earlier life (the law of *Karma*). To be affected by leprosy was to be in an inauspicious state and in a ritually polluted condition. Thus, there should be avoidance, and 'no touch'. However, with excommunication no longer an alternative, leprosy and its carriers had to be lived with.

In a general sense, all leprosy was perceived as a curse by the gods according to the law of *Karma*. However, at the same time, there was the notion of some leprosy possibly or likely being directly imposed by lesser gods (from the outside), the 'deity-caused' (*deotalagyo/dokh*) type, in contrast to a more 'disease type' leprosy (from inside the body/*rog*). Whereas the latter type would benefit from 'Western medicines' the former would not. In fact, the causative deity might well resent a medical intervention.

In real life, it was not always easy to know which type was at hand. A case in point was a man (high caste) in Dhobata's off-shoot hamlet who claimed that his condition was 'deotalagyo', whereas many of his neighbors thought otherwise. They, however, did not dare to challenge him and that in spite of his mother previously having been forced out of the village because of leprosy. The man's face was red and swollen and there were ulcers. We were told that if the Ward Member would tell him to move out he would probably reply, "*It is not your business, I am not living in your house!*" Later, however, we learnt that unknown to the community and even to his mother and brother, alongside magic-religious consultations and sessions, he had leprosy medicines both from India and the District hospital.

In the village of the earlier mentioned leprosy affected powerful shaman who refused to be enrolled for allopathic treatment, there was a teacher who had assisted the INF teams in their work and in doing so he had acquired a good knowledge of leprosy. A few years before we met, he (high caste) had suspected leprosy in a Dalit fellow villager and had sent him to the Health Post for a diagnosis. In 1996, he wanted us to examine and advise a relative of his. The teacher was convinced that his relative had leprosy but being of a younger generation he could not advise this older relative to go to the District hospital. We obliged and clearly it was leprosy. A week later,

the same teacher told us about 'a god' (*deota*) who had healed a severely deformed leprosy affected person. When in serious trouble, his family (the teacher's family) had for generations turned to a specific god in their village of origin. In their present village, his parents, he told, had had a neighbor severely affected by leprosy who had been to one shaman (*dhami/jhankri*) after another without the desired result. Finally, the teacher's grandfather had brought him to the god in their village of origin (to the shaman of that god). Animals were sacrificed and straight away the man started to get better. Thus, his collapsed nose became more normal and his clawed fingers began to straighten out, and over the next few months he was completely healed. The teacher, as far as we understood, believed it fully. We, however, had not expected such a story from such a person. He however, like many of the villagers, had an open mind to parallel explanations and suggestions.

In 1996, only four persons were on leprosy treatment from the Gukulpur Health Post, none of them from our primary study area. One person, however, was in the pipeline, a Kami (iron-smith). Our host, the village leader, had spotted his condition and had quietly advised him to go to the Health Post. What our host did not know was that he had already been there and had been told to go to the District hospital for a leprosy examination. This, however, he had not done. One finger was shortened but hidden underneath a bandage, there was a plantar ulcer, and there was *jhum-jhum* (tingling/thudding nerve pain). He had been to one shaman in particular and several goats had been sacrificed. Finally, the shaman had told him that his condition was because the god of one of his pieces of land (he only had a few) was against him and he should have nothing to do with that plot of land. He followed the advice.

At the same time, in Dhobata proper, there were six persons known to have been on leprosy medicines, some visibly marked by the disease and others not. They were not openly avoided but some villagers kept a distance. "*Seventy-five percent*," it was said, "*were fairly convinced that because of the medicines they were no longer a danger to anyone but twenty-five percent were not.*" "*Relatives*," it was said and observed, "*showed a smiling face but were not eager for them to visit.*" Meanwhile, those affected were careful not to challenge the good will of others and ardent in their efforts to come across as being in good health.

The official message was: "leprosy is curable" (*kushtarog niko huncha*)! To the medically minded or trained the expression meant the killing off of the leprosy bacteria, but to most locals the expression meant the disappearance of signs and symptoms, a result not always achieved. In many cases there were more

questions than answers; a situation clearly demonstrated in the case of the woman who lived outside the community because of leprosy. She resembled the traditional stereotype of 'no hands and feet'. She said that this was the case already in 1980 when she was started on leprosy medicines (dapsone). She defaulted within a year. There were two restarts. And in connection with the last one, according to the register, she was 'released from treatment' (RFT = medically cured). *"Do you still have leprosy?"* we asked. *"I think not but I am not sure,"* she said. The reason she thought that her leprosy might be gone was that previously blisters would not heal but now they did. The villagers, however, did not believe she was cured. *"If cured she should have fingers,"* they said. She had a daughter in the village. The daughter knew that her mother had taken medicines for several years but did not know if they were sufficient or not. *"I am afraid of the disease, but not of my mother,"* she said.

In 1996, when leaving Pipalbot (the main village of the group who twenty years earlier headed for Kathmandu in search of treatment), we were approached by some locals wanting to talk with us. They reckoned that presently there were five persons affected by leprosy in the village and they wanted to know if they were 'safe' or not? The five had been on medicines but even so they had noticed that sitting at the same distance from the fire, 'X' developed blisters whereas they did not. *"We try to play it as safe as possible,"* they said, *"but the village is small and sometimes we end up rubbing shoulders with those affected and involuntarily we touch things they have touched."* *"Will it come to us?"* they wondered.

In 2009 and 2010

In the Civil War (1996-2006), the district of Jajarkot was a stronghold for Maoist rule and activities. In Dhobata, a local Dalit was installed as village leader. The Maoists propagated against the healing methods of shamans and pandits. Meanwhile, an allopathic Sub-Health Post was set up.

In spite of the presence of the Sub-Health Post and frequent health messages during the Maoist era, the understanding of the allopathic approach was extremely limited. Having learnt that we were medically trained, people kept asking us for medicine for this and that, seemingly completely unaware of the need for detailed information and/or an examination for the right treatment. To most, the working of Western drugs was obviously as mysterious and miraculous as any shamanistic intervention, perhaps even more so!

Seemingly, the decision where to turn for help when ill or injured was mostly a matter of convenience. During clinic hours, many would turn to the Sub-Health Post. If not satisfied, the next step could be a consultation

with a shaman and/or a trip to a newly opened medicine shop a few hours away.

Leprosy medicines, it was said, had a good effect on many but not necessarily on everyone. Moreover, the conditions of some who had improved with medicines had not remained stable. If 'cured' by medicines, how could that be? And, contrary to expectations there had been new cases, yet they had understood that after the start of medical treatment a person would not be infectious! The transmission of a disease from one person to another was a known phenomenon but prolonged incubation periods were not.

The Gukulpur Health Post was flooded in 2007 and its leprosy register was lost. In 2009, in the new register, there were only three entries for the Dhobata administrative unit: two 'released from treatment' (RFT) and one 'on treatment'.

The one 'on treatment' was a man in his early twenties who, in 2009, accompanied by his father, came to our house late one evening. He reported that quite suddenly there had been nodules on his face and shortly after he had been to a hospital in a neighbouring district. To his surprise he was told that it was leprosy. *"But, no leprosy in our kinship group,"* he said, *"so how could it be leprosy?"* Not believing the diagnosis he had turned to the Jajarkot District hospital. He arrived while a leprosy case validation team was at work. According to him, he was simply handed a letter for the Gukulpur Health Post, together with a prescription for medicines for a total cost of NRs 3,000 (a large sum for a Jajarkot villager). At the Health Post he was immediately started on leprosy treatment. Now he had come to us and asked, *"If leprosy, why all these other medicines?"* His family name suggested a possible patrilineal link to a leprosy affected person who earlier had lived and died outside their village. *"Yes",* the father said, *"He was my father's brother's son."* So why did they say that there had been no leprosy among their relatives? To this the father replied that he certainly knew about his cousin but he had died before the son was born, so how could it be relevant? The eyebrows of the father were thin and we asked if he wanted us to examine him. On his shoulder blades, there were two large leprosy-suggesting anaesthetic lesions which supposedly neither he nor anyone else had noticed.

The circumstance of leprosy being more common in certain lineages than in others was a recognized phenomenon, mainly understood in terms of there being a curse within the lineage, a curse transferable over generations.

One of the two recorded as 'released from treatment' in Gukulpur's new

register was a woman in her mid-thirties from Pipalbot who had recently married into the village of Dhobata. Her paternal grandfather was affected by leprosy. He was ousted by the community, left for India, and was never heard of again. Some fifteen years later, her father developed leprosy signs and symptoms and there were plans of putting him out. He was saved by joining the party who in the mid-1970s set out for Anandaban hospital in Kathmandu. Later he had treatment (DDS) from the Gukulpur Health Post but defaulted. Several years later, she, his teenaged daughter, noticed a hypo-pigmented skin lesion on her body and soon there were several. They kept it quiet. *"Very quiet,"* she said. But then some of her fingers started to contract and soon the villagers would not come near her. In 1990, she was started on MDT treatment from the Gukulpur Health Post and shortly after so was her father (a re-start). Both were subsequently 'released from treatment' (RFT). For years they were doing well but then the daughter got too close to the fire and there were blisters and then ulcers. Before her marriage into Dhobata (to a mentally challenged distant relative) she had another round of leprosy treatment and it was in connection with the second round that she was in the new register. The main ulcer did not heal and she lost the better part of a toe. In 2009, she said that she was not sure about the cause of her condition, but her father and others said that it was *'deotalagyo'* (deity-caused), *"and since I did not get well by the medicines, they were probably right."* A year later, in 2010, she said that she had been fine after the last round of medicines. *"The germs (kitaunu)"*, she said, *"were dead."* *"Yet"*, she said, *"I am afraid that it might come back"*, and added, *"and I am ashamed because out of five siblings I was the only one who got the disease! Yes, there was leprosy in the lineage but why did I get it and why only me?"* She, like most adults in the village, was unfamiliar with the idea of 'genes' and variations in gene sets.

In late 2009, a cholera epidemic swept through the district. During the first critical days of the epidemic the Sub-Health Post was closed as its personnel were away fighting the outbreak in other parts of the district. In Dhobata alone, four villagers died and another 30 were seriously ill. One of those who died was the Dhobata pandit. He was the one who, in 1996, had suggested that he had subjugated some less serious kinds of leprosy. During our years of absence, he himself developed the disease.

In early 2009, he suggested that his condition was *'deotalagyo'* (deity-caused) and most likely because of *"the curse of the Chhetri's wife."* He had been in the process of selling some land to the family of a Chhetri man and in the last minute he had changed his mind. The curse, he said, originated with

the wife, now widow, of the prospective buyer, “a woman whose husband had leprosy.” Only three years after the first noted symptom did the pandit seek allopathic help. Before that, he had funded an elaborate ‘*jhankri pooja*’ (a shamanistic ritual) but to no avail. Some fingers had contracted and there were badly infected foot ulcers. He by-passed the Health Post and went directly to the District hospital. Being an important man, he was straight away admitted for ulcer care and septic surgery. His name was not entered into the leprosy register.

In 2010, after the death of his father, contrary to what the pandit had told us a year earlier, his son claimed that his father’s condition was ‘a disease’ (*rog*) and nothing else and that his father had said the same. He further suggested that there was no other case of leprosy in the kinship group. However, we knew that his father’s first cousin and the cousin’s son had been in the party who set out for Kathmandu in the mid-1970s. The pandit’s son never gave us a straight answer as to his knowledge about the leprosy of these relatives.

The earlier mentioned Dhobata Kami had died but not from cholera. He never went to the District hospital for a diagnosis. Instead, he staged ‘a big *pooja*’. His relatives explained that having said that it was ‘*deotalagyo*’ there had to be a *pooja* or the person might die. Moreover, to ensure that the condition would not transfer to another person, the *pooja* had to include a sacrifice of a sizeable animal. The high caste villagers spitefully said that the Kami died a year after the big *pooja* because a lack of food (all resources spent on the ritual). His wife said that he died after a week of high fever.

The Dalit woman living outside her village had also died. She was buried without rituals. In 2010, we heard that her daughter had developed leprosy. She had a bare patch on her skull. She had not dared to have it examined. Having learnt that we were in Dhobata she came accompanied by her sister-in-law. We examined her and were happy to inform her and others that there were no signs of leprosy.

The District Master leprosy registers (not in the best of conditions) in the district headquarters, contained 22 registrations for the Dhobata administrative unit from 1996-2009. In 2010, most likely, locally there were as many persons affected by leprosy as during most of the preceding 15 years. However, several of those with severe impairments had passed away and there were less visible disabilities among new cases and thus in the villages, ‘leprosy’ was less evident. There was an overall expectation of leprosy being on its way out, an expectation nurtured by radio messages about Nepal having reached ‘the leprosy elimination goal.’

A message believed by many to mean ‘no more leprosy’ (see F.Houghton and M. Winterburn, 2020, for a recent article on the subject).

Since there were fewer disabilities among new cases, most of them were able to contribute to the household’s economy. Even so, leprosy was still a stigmatized and stigmatizing disease and those able to conceal the condition did so, some by being examined and treated outside the district.

This was the case of a woman in the off-shoot hamlet of Dhobata interviewed in 2009. The first signs, she said, were *jhum-jhum* and then blisters on both legs. For a couple of years nothing was done about it and then she and her husband by-passed the District hospital for a hospital in one of the neighbouring districts, and from there she had her leprosy treatment. She reported that during the 12-month treatment period she mostly stayed inside the house, had her own eating utensils, and slept by herself. In 2009, there was partial sensory loss in her feet and a weakness of one hand, but no deformity. She seemed convinced that no one outside the family knew about her condition. Some, however, did and some also knew that in her village of origin, an elder brother of hers had had leprosy and, most likely, so had their father.

In 2010, using the original questionnaire, with two added questions, and the same sampling criteria, we repeated INF’s 1979/89 Leprosy Knowledge and Attitude Survey in the Dhobata ward previously surveyed. Fifty residents were interviewed. Thirty-five were high caste, 14 were Dalits, and one was from an ethnic group. The 1989/90 data from various parts of the district indicated that more than 90% feared leprosy more than any other disease. The corresponding percentage in the one-ward survey in 2010, with no significant difference in relation to age or caste position, was 54%. One third, mainly men (13 M, 1 F) ticked HIV/Aids as the disease they feared the most.

There were seven alternative replies to the question “Leprosy is caused by...” Sixty-eight percent ticked ‘bacteria’ (*kitaunu*) but never as the only alternative. A great majority, like in 1979/80, ticked more than one suggestion (a mean of 3.4). According to our understanding, not in the expectation that all suggested causes would necessarily be involved in every case but rather in the sense that there was a pool of possible causes, some at work in some cases and others at work in other cases. However, it highlights the understanding that there is rarely a single cause version but rather a multi-causal folk model in contrast to the mono-casual medical one.

There were four alternative replies to the question “Can leprosy be cured?” In the earlier survey only two percent marked “Always.” Thirty years down

the line, in the one-ward survey, the corresponding figure was 32%. Twenty-seven percent marked “Sometimes”; 25% “Don’t know”, and 16% “Never”.

One added question was: “If a person has completed leprosy treatment and gets an ulcer - does he/she need more leprosy medicines?” Seventy-two percent ticked ‘Yes’.

In 2016 and 2018

In 2016, a new building for the Gukulpur Health Post was in the making. The Dhobata Sub-Health Post, like all Sub-Health Posts in the country, had become ‘a Health Post’, but without much change in services rendered. Meanwhile, in the district headquarters private medicine shops and clinics had multiplied.

The District Master leprosy register had only two entries for the Dhobata administrative unit between 2010 and 2016. The recording, however, was not complete. One of the two recorded names was that of a man whom we had interviewed in 1996. Some years before the 1996 interview, he, according to the old register, had completed a pauci-bacillary treatment (six months MDT). He himself, however, said that he had defaulted. He wanted the 2016 interview to be in a secluded place. A few years earlier, quite suddenly, he said, there had been *jhum-jhum* in his right leg and a year later some anaesthesia. In his heart, he said, he knew that his leprosy was back. Even so he waited a year and then made his way straight to the INF hospital in Surkhet where he was diagnosed as a multi-bacillary case. He had since completed the treatment (twelve months MDT). He said that forty years ago his maternal uncle had leprosy but had not been isolated as he was a respected person in the community. His own social standing, however, was not that strong. He worked as a peon in the local school and was afraid to lose his job. In addition, even now, he said, he was not sure that he was completely cured as some lesions were still there. “*The leprosy,*” he said, “*might be because of some unknown sin in the past.*”

In 2016 and 2018, some of those earlier interviewed were re-interviewed but now with a focus on signs and symptoms and health-seeking efforts prior to the leprosy diagnosis. Moreover, six recent patients (4 M, 2 F) were contacted and interviewed on the same topics.

One of those re-interviewed was the young man who in 2009 had visited us together with his father. In 2009, we had understood that his facial nodules had developed suddenly. However, in now probing the subject we learnt

that first there was *jhum-jhum*, then blisters, then skin patches, and then facial nodules. In between he had tried home treatment with ghee, herbal pastes and ointments, had been to a medicine-shop, had visited the District hospital, and had been to yet another medicine shop. Only in connection with the appearance of the facial nodules had he consulted the hospital in the neighbouring district (earlier referred to) and only then was his leprosy diagnosed. In and through it all, he had not been to a shaman. The reason, he said, was that he had not done anything 'bad' so how could his condition be from the gods.

Meanwhile, his father had not followed our advice to speedily make his way to the District hospital for a diagnosis. He only did so five years later, despite an increasing number of symptoms similar to those of his leprosy-diagnosed son. He died, shortly after his visit to the District hospital and never got started on MDT. According to the son, the father had postponed the visit to the District hospital because the symptoms were not all that bothersome and he did not want others to learn about his condition. Leprosy meant 'a shameful condition' which when known to others would inevitably result in a loss of social prestige, not only for the person but also by association for the family. There would be talk behind their back and expectations of various forms of discrimination. In Dhobata and its surrounding villages, as in most of Nepal, 'silence' is an age-old strategy to prevent others from knowing what one does not want them to know (Miller, 1987).

In 2016 and 2018, leprosy was not very visible in the area. Almost all those with severe deformities, the pre-treatment generation, had passed away. However, the traditional image of a leprosy affected persons as a person '*without hands and feet*' was still around but alongside a growing awareness of some leprosy patients having less obvious signs and symptoms.

At the same time, those able to conceal a leprosy diagnosis did so, some with greater success than others, and some seemingly believing that they were more successful than they were. At the same time, not to embarrass the person/family, others might not let on that they were in the know (mutual concealment).

The latter was the case in connection with a woman in her late thirties in one of the neighboring villages. A distant relative of hers secretly told us that she was likely to have leprosy, 'untreated leprosy' it was said. The first part was true the second was not as she, two years earlier, had completed a full course of MDT (12 months). She said that no one, except her husband, not even her teenage daughter (in the same house) knew about her leprosy.

She concealed, she said, because “*people may hate*” (*hela garnu*). The leprosy diagnosis, she suggested, had been a complete surprise. At the time, she had thought that the symptoms were caused by gas in her stomach because of cold weather. She knew that her father’s elder brother (in her village of origin) had had leprosy (excommunicated) but that was some fifty years ago and the idea of her own condition possibly being leprosy, she said, had not entered her head. “*So today, what do you think caused your disease?*” Her somewhat surprising answer was, “*Pollution in connection with giving birth.*”

The Gukulpur Health Post’s leprosy register could not be found. There had been a change of staff and things had been packed away for the move into the new building. The search, however, unearthed the patient card of a young woman, ‘released from treatment’ in 2015.

The first symptom, she told, was a skin lesion with sensory loss. It was not painful and only a year and a half later, as it started to increase, did she inform her husband. He brought her to Gukulpur Health Post where he occasionally worked as a peon. Its new staff, however, had no leprosy experience. Some ointment was provided and they were told to make their way to the District hospital if there was no improvement. However, at the District hospital there was also a lack of leprosy skilled staff and they were advised to turn to the INF hospital in Surkhet, which they subsequently did. The leprosy diagnosis, she said, was a complete surprise. “*There were only skin lesions*”, she said, “*... and no previous leprosy among my relatives.*” About the cause of her leprosy she suggested, “*Weakness of the body combined with bad blood.*”

For others, the route to the proper diagnosis was even longer and that in spite of strongly leprosy-suggestive signs and symptoms. This, for instance, was the case of a young man in one of the nearby villages whom a Female Community Health Volunteer asked us to have a look at. He was working in India at the time of the first symptom, a swollen hand. Then there were blisters, then *jhum-jhum* and lesions with sensory loss, then muscle wasting and contraction of two fingers, then a blister which turned into an ulcer, and then *jhum-jhum* in both feet. Meanwhile in India, where he worked on and off, he had been to four medical clinics without a correct diagnosis. In Nepal he had consulted five shamans, one after another, been to the Gukulpur Health Post, and to a herbalist (*vaidhya*). People around him were aware of his signs and symptoms. None, he said, had suggested leprosy. Since all his health-seeking efforts had failed, he, like most people around him, he said, thought that most likely “*the god of his stepmother*” was behind his troubles. His father had married two women. The first had not given birth

to a child and he was the child of the second wife. To save himself, he and his family had left his father's house and moved in with his mother-in-law. We directed him to the nearest INF hospital where he was immediately classified as a highly multi-bacillary case (infectious), and he was admitted for ulcer care.

A red, swollen, and shiny face sometimes resulted in leprosy rumours, particularly if there was known leprosy in the family. In 2016, we learnt about three such cases, all men, two of them brothers, within the Dhobata administrative unit.

The father of the two brothers had visible deformities. The eldest of the two brothers had had four years of leprosy treatment as a child. After that, he was doing well and the villagers (Pipalbot) did not avoid him. Now, decades later, rumors suggested that his leprosy was back and perhaps his younger brother had also developed the disease. In the hope of getting away from whatever was haunting him, the elder brother and his family left his parental home and moved to the other side of the village. Before that there had been several visits to the nearest medicine shop intermingled with shaman consultations. Upon our arrival we were told that he had gone to INF's hospital in Surkhet for leprosy treatment. This, however, was not correct. Besides a red face and supposedly new skin lesions, he had epilepsy and had recently fallen into a fire and he was away for treatment of the burns. The younger brother was also out of the village. He, the villagers said, had been to more than one shaman and several goats had been sacrificed. In between he had also been to the nearest medicine shop.

The deceased father of the third person, had also had leprosy and before him so had his father's maternal uncle (one of the last ones 'drummed out' of Dhobata). The mother of the third person was *'the wife of the Chhetri'* who the Dhobata pandit accused of having brought about his leprosy by a curse. Now, at approximately the same age as his father had been when started on leprosy treatment, the son had symptoms which might indicate leprosy. He had been to the Gukulpur Health Post where he had been told to report to the District hospital. However, a year later, he had not done so but had tried various herbal treatments and also anti-allergy medicines from more than one medicine shop. Our Dhobata host was skeptical, *"Most likely it is leprosy,"* he said, *"and if leprosy, he is likely to stay away for some time, at least during the treatment period."*

In 2018, we were told that the rumors were wrong. The allergy medicines had healed the face of the younger Pipalbot brother and the elder one was

also fine except for an ugly burn ulcer (having fallen into the fire). The Dhobata man was away in India but relatives reported that whatever had been wrong had sorted itself out and he was doing well.

A year later, the elder brother and his father were both admitted for inpatient care at INF's Surkhet hospital, not for another round of leprosy medicines, but for ulcer care. Rumors and discussions in Dhobata and its neighboring villages, however, were not likely to distinguish between the two.

Conclusions and Suggestions

Leprosy has been a part of Nepal's history and society since time immemorial (see web site Leprosy Control Division, Department of Health Services). However, during the last few generations, the leprosy situation has drastically changed, and so also in the remote district of Jajarkot. In the area studied, the turning point was the introduction of leprosy medicines, an introduction which took place 40 years ago. It was preceded by centuries of hope for magic-religious rituals to soften the Karmic curse and to placate lesser divinities which might have brought on the condition. At the same time, leprosy was recognized as the '*Maha rog*', the Big Disease, not likely to be reversed. And, in the great majority of cases, there was no healing but a progression of the disease. Society's response, when possible, was to protect itself by removing 'the cursed, the inauspicious, and the ritually polluted and polluting ones'. However, by the time a removal was executed, others might well have been infected and there would be new cases. Likewise, there will continue to be new leprosy cases if the delays of present non-diagnosed patients are not shortened. Yet, the scenario is not the same as 40 years ago.

Intellectually and physically the researched area is closer linked to the outside and will continue to be so. And, in regard to leprosy, great changes have taken place. Locally, leprosy is far less evident and that in spite of no more excommunications. The pre-treatment generation, commonly marked and recognized by severe disabilities and frightening deformities, have passed away and the newer generation of those affected by the disease have less impairments and disfigurements and their number is far lower than the previous accumulation of advanced leprosy cases.

The arrival and utilization of leprosy medicines changed the situation. And, most of those affected have been on leprosy medicines for longer or shorter periods of time with less permanent physical damages as a result. However, the leprosy skills of those who should be able to recognize and diagnose the

disease in its early stages, the private and public health service workers, have often not been up to standards and evidently this is still the case. Thus, often there is a delay in the start of leprosy treatment and concurrently a window for transmissions. And, there are other holdups. One is connected with early signs and symptoms of the disease often being non-intrusive. Another is the circumstance that the early signs and symptoms are not recognized as possibly being leprosy or indicators of the disease. In addition, the circumstance of leprosy being expected to run in certain lineages and not in others is also a delaying factor, in the latter case because leprosy is not an anticipated possibility and in the former because the lived in history of leprosy within the lineage, social stigma included, is likely to deter early presentations. Additionally, but very importantly, allopathic medicine is a latecomer on the local scene and not well understood. In relation to leprosy, as exemplified and illustrated in the main text, there are a number of cross-cultural difficulties and misunderstandings which in part encourages parallel and delaying health-seeking within the magic-religious sphere. In addition, there are those who according to their understanding of the situation choose traditional healing methods rather than Western medicines. And thus, there is an accumulation of holdups and delays resulting in late leprosy diagnoses. Even so, over the years, the number of new cases has declined, however, not to the degree that there are no more transmissions but to a low but seemingly quite stable level next to the elimination goal of less than one case per 10,000 population.

If leprosy eradication is to take place within this or the next generation additional efforts are clearly needed. As the causes of long delays are multiple a multi-dimensional approach is needed. An upgrading of leprosy skills among private and public health service workers and also traditional healers is essential, but so is public leprosy awareness raising of early signs and symptoms of leprosy. Moreover, misunderstandings concerning the medical approach and its likely outcome need to be addressed. Concurrently, there is a definite need to realize and to acknowledge that for those affected, their families, and their communities, leprosy is far more than what is enclosed in the medical definition of leprosy. Dr Cardinalli's previously cited conclusion from the early 1980s of leprosy in the researched area being "*... as much a social, cultural and psychological problem as it is a medical one*" is still valid, even if the problems are less than previously. Even so, they need to be taken into account in all efforts to shorten delays and in all strategies to attain the ultimate goal of leprosy eradication. To reach the latter, a double approach of voluntary presentations parallel to and/or

combined with some form of active case detection, like contact screenings, might well be needed.

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Factors Affecting Teacher Motivation in Nepal

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Abstract

The major aim of this paper is to report the finding of a study that aims at analyzing different factors influencing teacher motivation towards the teaching profession. To this goal, a mixed method approach was used and quantitative data were collected from 430 teachers, teaching at the Basic Level, from six districts using a set of questionnaires. Qualitative data were gathered from 48 teachers, six resources persons, six teacher trainers and three policy-makers. The major findings of the study show that multiple factors influence teacher motivation towards teaching profession, which are broadly categorized under four areas: individual, school-related, sociocultural and political. Policy-related factors include salary and benefits, leave facility, promotion, training, pensions and freedom to trade union. Similarly, school-related factors for teacher motivation include school management, leadership, teaching load, professional development opportunities and feedback and reinforcement mechanism. Student-related factors contain class size, student composition, regularity, and discipline. Socio-cultural factors for teacher motivation include social recognition of teachers, political interference and teacher-parent cooperation. Finally, the issue of teacher performance and motivation should be tied up with the policies of teacher professional development.

Keywords: teacher, motivation, professional development, school, Nepal

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Introduction

Teacher motivation is a key to the quality learning in schools. While teacher motivation remains always at the heart of educational policies and reform agenda both in Nepal and beyond, this concept has been defined in multiple ways by different scholars. While some define it as attraction towards teaching profession (e.g. Sinclair, 2008), others take it as teachers' commitment towards putting efforts in transforming teaching practices. Sinclair's (2008) definition provides an overarching framework to understand what teacher motivation is and how it is linked with teacher professional development. For Sinclair, teacher motivation is about "what attracts individuals to teaching, how long they remain in [...] the teaching profession, and the extent to which they engage with [...] the teaching profession" (2008, p. 37). This definition indicates that teacher motivation refers to teachers' attraction towards teaching profession and their long-term concentration and commitment in the profession.

Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) specify two major dimensions of teacher motivation. For them, teacher motivation includes 'motivation to teach' and 'motivation to remain in the job'. Based on this idea, Han and Yin (2016) specify four components of teacher motivation: intrinsic motivation; external factors (sociopolitical and cultural factors) influencing motivation; long-term commitment in teaching; and factors that demotivate teachers. Building on these literatures, this study explores Nepalese teachers' motivation in terms of job satisfaction, continuity or discontinuity of job, self-initiatives to improve teaching, and external factors that affect teaching. More importantly, this study aimed at analyzing the link between teacher motivation and teacher professional development.

Method

The study has adopted a mixed method approach to educational research, particularly teacher motivation and teacher professional development, to collect necessary information from teachers, Teacher Professional Development (TPD) trainers, resource persons (RPs) and policy-makers.

A set of survey questionnaire was developed to collect information related to the status of teacher motivation. The questionnaire covered both 'work context factors' (e.g. availability of facilities, institutional support, class size, infrastructures, incentives/salaries, sociopolitical dynamics, job security etc.) and 'work content factors' (e.g. opportunities for professional

development, recognition/identity, workload, knowledge about content) affecting teacher motivation and teacher professional development. The questionnaire also included questions related to policy and sociopolitical factors that impact on teacher motivation for effective teaching and professional development. In addition, the questions related to opportunities and barriers for effective teaching were also included in the questionnaire. The survey was conducted among 430 teachers from six districts – Kalikot, Kavre, Achcham, Okhaldhunga, Kapilbastu and Sarlahi. The sampling criteria include the following: normal deviation set at 95% confidence level (CI 95% = 1.96), sd = standard deviation (50% = 0.5), e = margin of error (confidence interval) (5% = 0.05).

Along with survey, six focus group discussions (FGDs), one each from six sample districts were conducted with the teachers. The number of teachers participated in FGDs was 48 in total. These teachers were those who did not participate in the survey. These discussions have been focused on issues related to teacher motivation, opportunities and barriers for effective teaching, the existing policies and practices of professional development and alternative ideas for improving TPD. These discussions were recorded by using digital voice recorders which were later transcribed for data analysis purposes. In addition, the perspectives of teachers were documented in the form of field notes. One class from one school in each district was also observed in order to understand actual classroom practices of teachers and facilitate critical discussions in focus groups. The researcher also conducted in-depth interviews with six Resource Persons and six TPD trainers—one from each district—to understand the current situations of TPD, teachers' expectations and motivation and alternative perspectives of TPD. In addition, the team members had in-depth interviews with representatives of Department of Education (DoE) and National Centre for Educational Development (NCED) in Kathmandu in July 2017.

The researcher used CSPro software in Android to manage quantitative data collected from the sample teachers. Qualitative data were stored in Live scribe and audio-recorder, which were transcribed and coded to generate themes. These themes were organized under the broader themes of the study.

Concept and theories of teacher motivation: A literature review

Scholars have discussed two dominant theories of teacher motivation. These theories include self-determination theory and achievement goal theory (Richardson & Watt, 2016). In this section, these theories have been discussed briefly.

Self-determination theory

Self-determination theory of teacher motivation makes a distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and “the quality of experience and performance can be very different when one is behaving for intrinsic versus extrinsic reasons” (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 55). While intrinsic motivation directs teachers towards better learning opportunities, extrinsic motivation is concerned with gaining material advantage. Intrinsic motivation is natural and arises out of human psychological needs “for competence, autonomy and relatedness” (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 57). Yet, external conditions may promote or hinder intrinsic motivation. Studies have shown that if teachers feel competent and autonomous, they become more intrinsically motivated. In contrast, intrinsic motivation decreases if people feel that they are being controlled and their sense of self is not acknowledged.

Unlike intrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation is more instrumental than autonomous in its nature. Organic Integration Theory (OIT), a sub-theory of self-determination theory, introduces different forms of extrinsic motivation: external regulation (i.e. activities conducted to satisfy others); introjected motivation (i.e. activities conducted to maintain self-esteem though the activities are proposed by others); identification (i.e. activities conducted because of their personal value); and integrated regulation (i.e. full acceptance of external regulation) (Ryan & Deci, 2000). These forms of motivation are directly related to teachers’ motivation for professional development. Whether or not teachers are highly motivated towards their professional development can be assessed by looking at how teachers are regulated—whether or not their personal values are accepted—and how teachers actually feel when they are being regulated.

One of the major issues is that teachers engage in external regulated activities if they really value the person who initiates the activities and have a sense that the initiators have competence to carry out the activity. Roth, Assor, Kanat-Maymon, and Kaplan (2007) found that teachers’ high level of autonomous motivation was significantly correlated with a greater sense of achievement whereas the controlled motivation was correlated with exhaustion. Similarly, high degree of autonomous motivation of teachers was correlated with greater students’ autonomy in learning thereby contributing to autonomous motivation in learning which in turn contributes to competence-based learning.

Achievement goal theory

The achievement goal theory of teacher motivation assumes that motivation depends on the goals that teachers set for their teaching (Butler, 2007). Butler (2007) proposes four types of goals: (a) learn, develop, and acquire professional understandings and skills (mastery orientation); (b) demonstrate superior teaching ability (ability approach); (c) avoid the demonstration of inferior teaching ability (ability avoidance); and (d) get through the day with a little effort (work avoidance) (p. 242). These factors are key to understanding teacher motivation. Studies have shown that teachers whose goals are oriented to mastery seek help from other teachers while the teachers, who are oriented towards avoiding their inferior teaching ability, did not like to seek help. Similarly, teachers who tend to avoid work are also likely to seek any help if they think that it would make their work easier.

Similar to Butler's (2007) goal category, Shim, Cho, and Cassady (2013) propose a three-structure framework of achievement goals for teachers: mastery goals, performance goals, and performance avoidance goals. The type of achievement goals endorsed by schools can have impact on teachers' achievement goals, which in turn, influence the goal they set for their own classroom. To explain this further, "when schools overly stress the importance of high test scores, academic competition, and use the highest achieving students as models for all students, teachers [...] may be more likely to use performance-oriented instructional practices in the classroom" (Butler, 2007, p.551). Butler (2007) further argues that "teachers who approach their teaching with the desire to improve their teaching competence tended to promote mastery goals for their students and value all students' progress and learning" (p.99-100). In contrast, "teachers who strive to demonstrate their superior teaching ability to their principal or other colleagues (performance-approach goals) were more likely to encourage competition among students" (pp. 99-100). This implies that mastery goals are more beneficial for both teachers and students than performance goals.

Factors affecting teacher motivation: Findings and discussion

This study has identified factors that affect teachers' motivation in four areas: policy-related, school-related, student-related, and society and culture-related.

Policy related factors

NCED has developed and implemented a number of policies to strengthen

teacher motivation. Such policies include salary, leave facilities, promotion and incentive, in-service training, retirement pensions, teacher recruitment, transfer and freedom to form unions. Overall, in terms of impact on teacher motivation these policies, except for in-service teacher training, have a below average impact on teacher motivation (see Table 1). Although majority of teachers (84.2%) are familiar with these policies, they have rated the impact of all the existing policies as 'low-motivating'. In-service teacher training has an average impact (1.03) on teacher motivation. For the teachers in this study, 'freedom to form teachers' unions' (impact=0.55) and 'in-service promotion' (impact=0.58) policies are quite 'demotivating' for their professional growth.

As emerged from focus group discussions in all six districts, teachers have opined that freedom to form teachers' unions have promoted direct political intervention in school-related activities. For example, one teacher from Kapilvastu has said, "these days, teachers are involved in party politics. They are not worried about teaching and improved student learning outcomes. As teachers have strong political protection, nobody can punish the teachers who are not committed to their profession." Another teacher from Kalikot has said, "due to politicization of education, the issue of professionalism has not been given a high priority. Teachers are rewarded on the basis of their political affiliation rather than on the basis of their professional quality. It is bizarre. Our policy makers should rethink about this practice."

Table 1: Policy provisions for teacher motivation

Policy provisions	Fa-mil- iarity (% of Yes)	Impact on Motivation				
		Doesn't make any dif- ference	Mo- tivat- ing	High- ly mo- tivat- ing	Total %	Average motiva- tion lev- el (=1)
Salary and benefits	91.4	31.0	59.5	9.4	100.0	0.78
Leave facility	95.6	23.4	61.6	15.1	100.0	0.92
In-service promotion	77.9	54.3	33.1	12.5	100.0	0.58
In-service incentive (grade)	76.5	40.7	38.6	20.7	100.0	0.80
In-service teacher training	81.4	19.7	57.4	22.9	100.0	1.03
Retirement pensions	84.7	38.7	29.1	32.1	100.0	0.93

Teacher recruitment practice	89.8	29.8	55.7	14.5	100.0	0.85
Transfer and posting	80.0	50.3	35.2	14.5	100.0	0.64
Freedom to trade union	80.7	55.3	34.3	10.4	100.0	0.55
Composite index	84.2	37.6	45.6	16.8	100.0	0.79

Source: Field Survey, 2017.

Teacher transfer and posting (impact=0.64) and salary/benefits (impact=0.78) are two other policy provisions that have least impact on teacher motivation. Similarly, the existing in-service incentive (impact=0.80) and teacher recruitment practice (impact=0.85) have a significant impact on teacher motivation. This data clearly indicates that the existing policies of forming teachers' union, teacher promotion and incentivization, and teacher recruitment practices should be revised and reformulated.

School related factors

The school environment plays a critical role to shape teacher motivation. In this study, the teachers' responses clearly show that different school related factors have both positive and negative impacts on teacher motivation. As seen in Table 2 most school related factors have an average impact on teacher motivation. The data show that support (impact=2.07) and cooperation (impact=2.18) between teachers are more motivating than other factors for teachers. The data also show that school management system (impact=1.87), head teachers' leadership (impact=1.97), teaching load (impact=1.90) and head teachers' feedback (impact=1.90) have impact on teacher motivation slightly higher than the average.

Table 2: Impact of school related factors on teacher motivation

School related factors	Demo-tivating	Low moti-vating	Mo-ti-vat-ing	High-ly moti-vating	Total %	Aver-age mo-tivation (=1.5)
A. School management system	9.1	14.7	66.7	9.5	100.0	1.8
B. Head teacher's leadership	5.3	11.4	64.4	18.8	100.0	2.0
C. Teaching load	1.2	13.3	80.5	5.1	100.0	1.9

School related factors	Demo- tivating	Low moti- vat- ing	Mo- ti- vat- ing	High- ly moti- vating	Total %	Aver- age mo- tivation (=1.5)
D. Teacher-teacher cooperation	2.1	4.0	67.9	26.0	100.0	2.2
E. Professional development opportunities	13.5	20.9	52.8	12.8	100.0	1.6
F. Incentives and appreciation system	40.2	24.7	23.5	11.6	100.0	1.1
G. Availability of teaching resources	9.8	21.6	55.8	12.8	100.0	1.7
H. Participation in decision-making process	9.1	16.3	62.6	12.1	100.0	1.8
I. Regular feedback/reinforcement from head teachers	7.0	13.7	61.6	17.7	100.0	1.9
J. Support from colleagues	2.8	7.0	70.9	19.3	100.0	2.1
K. Lack of clear guidelines/support for teaching	16.3	27.0	48.6	8.1	100.0	1.5
Composite index	10.6	15.9	59.6	14.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey, 2017.

Although professional development opportunities (impact=1.65), availability of teaching resources (impact=1.72) and participation in decision making process (impact=1.78) have above the average score, the existing incentive and appreciate system is quite demotivating for teachers (impact=1.07). Likewise, teachers find lack of clear guidelines and the system of regular support as two demotivating factors for them (impact=1.49). This data indicate that the existing teacher incentive system and support mechanism are not contributing to teacher motivation. This situation clearly indicates that the teachers should be provided with clear guidelines and regular support to keep them motivated for teaching.

Teachers and Resource Persons (RPs) have made some critical comments regarding the impact of school related factors on teacher motivation. Commenting on the incentive and appreciation system, the teachers from

all districts have contended that they are not punished and rewarded on the basis of professional rigor, rather by their loyalty to political parties. One teacher from Siraha, for example, has stated:

The existing reward and punishment practices are not logical. Teachers who worked hard and teach khuru khuru (regularly) by implementing the knowledge they have learned from TPD trainings are not rewarded. We have seen that the teachers who do not take classes regularly but are closed to District Education Officer and political leaders are rewarded as the best teachers. So, hard-working teachers are not motivated to teach.

One RP from Okhaldhunga, for example, reveals that in some school head teachers and teachers do not have a good relation as they belong to different political parties. He further says “I have seen that head teachers even cannot suggest teachers to improve their teaching due to their political differences. It is not quite easy to work in this kind of environment.”

Another teacher from Kalikot further contended that “if the value of teacher’s professionalism is not recognized then teachers become demotivated in teaching. The teachers who would like to change their teaching practices and committed to improve quality of students’ learning do not have recognition.” An RP from Dailekh has a similar view:

I have taught for 28 years. I started teaching at a primary school. I have never been promoted and rewarded by looking at my professional experience and competence. It may sound like I am opposing the existing system, but it is reality. Teachers are questioning why they need to teach in school if they do not know who is promoted and rewarded after all. This is a main grievance most teachers have.

The teachers in this study have also pointed out that there is lack of clear guidelines and support in order to implement knowledge and skills they have learned from teacher training. One teacher from Achcham, for example, has said, “We do not have any person to discuss and share our problems we face while implementing what we learn from teacher training.” The teachers have also pointed out the lack of infrastructure and resources as factors affecting their motivation for effective teaching. In Okhaldhunga, teachers have stated that their classrooms are ‘not appropriate to conduct group and pair work activities.’

Box 1: Teachers' view on resource and facilities

Our school does not have an appropriate infrastructure, adequate educational teaching materials, and teachers *darbandi*. Teachers are not posted as per the demand of school. One teacher must take multiple classes at the same period (*ghanti*). There are no adequate rooms, desks and benches, chalks or board markers and dusters. How can a teacher teach effectively in this situation by using the knowledge of TPD training? Despite this situation, we are enjoying teaching job from early 10 am to 4 pm every day. Parents do not know about school environment, but what they know is that their children must pass examinations with an 'A' grade. We feel uncomfortable when parents blame us that we are not teaching well. So far as student performance is concerned, not only teachers, but also parents, School Management Committee (SMC), political parties and even students are responsible.

Figure 2. Classroom at Achham



(Focus Group Discussions of Shree Mangala Rastriya Madhyamic Bidhyalaya, Mangalsen Municipality-9, Achham).

Student related factors

This study has also explored the role of student-related factors in shaping teacher motivation. These factors include the number of students, student diversity in terms of ability and language/culture, and student regularity, discipline and achievement. As seen in Table 3, teachers consider most of these factors motivating. Yet, they pointed out that 'children's failure despite their hard work' (impact=1.24) is the most frustrating factor that negatively impacts on their motivation to teach.

Table 3: Impact of student related factors

Factors	Demo- tivating	Low motiva- ting	Moti- vating	Highly moti- vating	Total %	Ave- rage (=1.50)
A. Large student number	7.9	24.2	56.5	11.4	100.0	1.71
B. Student diversity in terms of ability	5.8	27.0	58.6	8.6	100.0	1.70
C. Students' diversity in language and culture	5.6	23.0	60.7	10.7	100.0	1.77
D. Students' regularity	7.2	24.4	51.6	16.7	100.0	1.78
F. Students' discipline	2.8	15.6	63.7	17.9	100.0	1.97
G. Children failure despite trying my best	17.0	44.4	36.5	2.1	100.0	1.24
Composite index	8.1	26.8	54.2	10.8	100.0	-

Source: Source: Field Survey, 2017.

The teachers in all districts have pointed out that children are not learning although they work hard to support them. One striking issue that has emerged from focus group discussion is that the existing practice of continuous assessment system (CAS) has not been quite helpful for quality student learning. Most teachers have considered this system as a way to pass students without enhancing quality learning.

Box 2: Teachers' view on CAS

Continue Assessment System (CAS) has increased regularity of students in school. The students who attend 75 percent and more classes will be promoted to the next Grade, without taking an examination. CAS is implemented to increase children's attendance in school. But teachers have misinterpreted the system that they do not have to teach; they think that children will be promoted without taking any examinations. In CAS, students receive 75 percent of total marks for the attendance at 1-5 Grades and 50 percent at 6-8 Grades. CAS is understood in another way that students do not have to study but simply attend school in the first hour (before the interval), and leave the school, for various reasons, by the end of the day. For example, there are 30 students at Grade 8, and all of them are present during the roll call [which is usually done in the first hour of the day]. But at the end of the day hardly 10-12 students remain in the school. This has discouraged the teachers to work hard to teach students.

(Focus Group Discussants, Saraswati High School, Dailekh)

Sociocultural and political factors

Studies have shown that sociocultural and political factors can significantly influence teacher motivation (Guskey, 2000). Such factors include social recognition of teachers, teacher-community relations, teacher-parent interactions, political dynamics of community and parents' socioeconomic background. In order to understand the role of sociopolitical factors in teacher motivation, a rating scale question has been asked to the teachers in that they could give a numerical value to specific sociocultural and political factors. As seen in Table 4, in average, the teachers have rated almost all sociocultural factors 'motivating'. However, two major factors—political interference in school and parents' socioeconomic and educational backgrounds are 'demotivating' for them.

Table 4: Impact of sociocultural factors

Factors	De-motivating	Low motivating	Motivating	Highly motivating	Total %	Average (=1.50)
A. Social recognition of teachers	3.0	10.9	65.1	20.9	100.0	2.04
B. Teacher-community relation	3.0	12.1	66.3	18.6	100.0	2.00
C. Teacher-parent cooperation	10.2	21.9	55.1	12.8	100.0	1.70
D. Political interference in school activities	31.9	33.5	28.8	5.8	100.0	1.09
E. Parents' socioeconomic background	16.0	36.5	39.5	7.9	100.0	1.39
F. Cultural differences bet. comm. & teachers	4.4	24.9	62.6	8.1	100.0	1.74
G. Family support	0.2	3.3	35.6	60.9	100.0	2.57
Composite index	9.8	20.4	50.4	19.3	100.0	-

Source: Field Survey, 2017.

The data show that political interference in school activities is the most 'demotivating' factor for the teachers (average=1.09). Similarly, parents' socioeconomic and educational background is found to be less motivating for teachers (1.39). As mentioned above, teachers in all six districts think that direct political interference in school is not encouraging for their professional growth and quality student learning. They have pointed out that the implementation of new practices such as children-friendly and student-centered approach have been difficult due to parents' lack of awareness on the importance of these practices. A teacher from Okhaldhunga said, "We try to teach students by using a play technique and group work in classroom. But parents think that we are not actually teaching. For them, teaching means reading textbooks aloud, keeping students silent and disciplined, and providing them with a lot of homework. We have heard complaints from parents that they do not like their children to be involved in discussions and games, but they think that children should be taught."

Conclusion and implications

This paper has analyzed various factors affecting teacher motivation. One of the striking findings is that all the existing policies are not quite motivating for teachers. As teachers have pointed out, political interference through the formation of teachers' union in school and unfair incentive and reward system are quite demotivating. Parents' lack of awareness on what counts as effective teaching-learning processes is another demotivating factor for teachers to teach with new ideas. Based on the findings the main conclusion of this paper are as follows:

- o One of the major factors influencing teacher motivation towards the teaching profession is job satisfaction. In this study, although majority of teachers have chosen teaching job because they would love to work with children. They, particularly temporary teachers, are less satisfied with their job. On the one hand, they are not provided with equal opportunities and facilities for professional development, and on the other, their voices are given less importance in decision making processes.
- o This study shows that teachers with a permanent tenure, receiving a full salary and any TPD training, are more satisfied with their job and motivated towards teaching profession. Yet, about sixteen percent of teachers want to discontinue their job and majority of them show a withdrawal syndrome in terms of their motivation for teaching.
- o Although majority of teachers are familiar with the existing policies for teacher motivation, they have rated the impact of most of these policies as low-motivating. Among them, freedom to form teachers' union (impact=0.55) and in-service promotion policies (impact=0.58) are considered the most demotivating for teachers' professional growth.
- o The existing incentive and appraisal system and the practice of support and feedback for teachers are among the most demotivating factors for teachers.
- o Children's repeated failure despite teachers' continual efforts is another important factor affecting teacher motivation.
- o The study shows that political interference in school is one of the most demotivating factors for teachers. In addition, parents'

socioeconomic and educational background is less motivating for teachers. Teachers have pointed out that the implementation of new practices such as children-friendly and student-centered approach have been difficult due to parents' lack of awareness on the importance of these practices.

Based on the above findings and conclusion, this paper draws three major implications for policies and practice:

- o Focus on achievement goal approach: The existing framework of NCED mentions the importance of teacher motivation as part of TPD, but it lacks a clear outline and specific activities that focus on teacher motivation. Although the scope of teacher motivation itself is a broad and relevant approach to strengthen teacher motivation could an achievement goal approach in that teachers are first engaged in setting up their own goals and develop a plan for achieving those goals. Rather than deciding on what teachers needs in a top-down manner, this approach will engage teachers not only to understand what their goals are but also identify the competencies and skills they need to achieve those goals.
- o Portfolio-based assessment and regular feedback mechanism: A portfolio-based assessment could be an alternative approach in the existing TPD program. In this approach, teachers are assessed on the basis of what they have performed. In order to support teachers to strengthen their portfolio and provide feedback, there should be a feedback and support system at the school level. For this purpose, highly experienced experts could be hired at the local level. Such experts will collaborate with teachers towards strengthening their capacity and performance.
- o Funding for innovations in teaching: Each school should be provided with additional funding for innovations in teaching. For this purpose, teachers will propose a new approach of teaching to improve students' learning, and they will be provided with additional funding to experiment new ideas.

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Exploration of Teachers' Role in Resource Class: A Case from an Integrated School

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Abstract

This study aimed at exploring the teacher's role in resource class especially focusing on how resource teacher contributes to mainstreaming of children with disability. For this purpose, the researcher applied hermeneutics phenomenology as a research design. Five resource teachers from two integrated school from Kathmandu valley were selected as research participants by purposive sampling. The researchers adopted in depth interview and class observation to gather the rigorous information. Data analysis had been carried out along with the categorization of themes of collaboration, observation of activities of resource teachers and understanding of service delivery model. From the interview protocol the responses were transcribed and basic themes had been organized. Main themes were extracted from the basic themes. Main theme had been discussed with thematic network to draw final conclusion. The findings showed that the roles and responsibility of resource teachers are to support general teacher, to teach basic adaptive skills for children with the disability, creating collaborative environment with the parents and professionals. Therefore, the resource teacher's roles to identification of need for children with disability, co-operation with parents and general teachers that contributes to transition planning in the individualized education plan. The findings provided implications that produced a plan to assist in the collaboration between the two educational environments.

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Keywords: early intervention skills, disability, resource class and teacher, student support, service delivery model

Introduction

When we visited a community school having resource class in Kathmandu valley, we found disabled students were enjoying in their learning activities with their appropriate intervention. Particularly visually impaired students were performing a leading role in their learning. The teachers in the resource class were delivering the skills related to the need of learners. Moreover, the teachers were found to be engaging providing knowledge about the life skill for students. This scenario in the resource class inspired to dig out the essential feature in the role of resource teachers. Kobayashi & Kuboyama, (2003) have stated that resource teacher plays primary role not only in child's guidance, but also in serving the needs of their parents.

Resource program along with the role and responsibility of resource teacher have been increased at speedy over the last decade (Hanushek, 1997). The resource room concept implies a partnership between the regular educator and the special educator for both planning and implementation. An educational program for disabled students' implementation of PL 94-142 mandates that regular class teacher is required to accept the responsibility of educating children with disability (Wang & Birch, 1984). Most of them are formally assigned to self-contained special education classroom. In analyzing the transition phase, importance is required to give for inspecting and evaluating support service provided by the resource room teachers. Ironically, almost of the research reports have shown on the effectiveness of mainstreaming program focusing the children with disabilities (Lightfoot, 2005). Curriculums carrying out life skills are often providing as fundamental courses as career and technical education centers or in self-contained special education classrooms (resource class) and occasionally as elective courses in regular high school. These types of programs particularly include functional jobs related skills, independent skills and social skills (Bonanni, 2015).

The resource teacher needs to inform about institution for disabled child in local areas for related pre-service provision such as early intervention system, the mother child health care system and initial screening practice. The quality of relationship between parents and resource teacher has influence on child. The reciprocal responsibility of the family and resource teacher is to observe and participate in the care that disabled students need. The resource teachers

are needed to be encouraged to work together as partner in providing support for children with disability (Bubpha et al., 2012).

A classroom with distinct setting where disable students are equally enjoying in classroom in their learning is known as effective resource class. Vaughn et al. (2001) have stated that the effectiveness of teaching in resource room for enhancing performance of children with disability increases the acceptance and self-esteem in community. It shows that in the effective resource class all sorts of students need to be satisfied with their pleasure. Student's basic needs and environment need to be identified and managed well appropriate utilization and respect to them is essential for self-esteem in community. The effective resource room support service strengthens affirmativeness in reading, writing, calculation and self-determination skill and also reduces the unaccepted behavior. The children adapting in resource room are able to achieve the mastery of fundamental skill in early extent of life (Al-Zoubi & Rahman, 2016). Students require education in mainstream classes with multidimensional judgment including psychological and behavioral examination. The students usually receive extra academic supports from a resource teacher in the resource room. The school is required to provide training for general teacher to handle and cope with children with special needs by adapting flexible inclusion strategies in the least restrictive environment (Ali et al., 2006) in general, teachers have positive attitudes towards inclusive education. They agreed that inclusive education enhances social interaction and inclusion among the students and thus, it minimizes negative stereotypes on special needs students. The findings also show that collaboration between the mainstream and the special education teachers is important and that there should be a clear guideline on the implementation of inclusive education. The findings of the study have significant implications to the school administrators, teachers, and other stakeholders who directly and indirectly involved in implementing inclusive education (Ali et al., 2006).

Resource teacher is seen as reasonably skilled and knowledgeable person. Teachers training needs to focus more on consultation. High level skill such as managing hyper behavior, managing attention deficit, using assistive devices etc. are important for making children with disability success in the mainstream (Friend, 1984). The inclusion in the mainstream school classroom leads to inclusion in the community for children with disability. Placements in the resource class, special class are best means to the end of inclusion in the community (Hornby, 2015).

In the context of Nepal, the resource classes are not properly managed from the government sector. Constitution of Nepal has delegated authority of educational management in the local government (source) but present scenario is, the policy implementers are still in confusion where the departure is. In such a context, this study seeks the way out of effective resource class management along with the roles and responsibility of teacher. The roles and responsibility of resource teacher have been explored in this study and way out for effective management of resource class in the community school in Nepal. Moreover, this document becomes relevant and supportive for policy implementation and reforming process.

Research question

In context of Nepal, the resource classes are not properly managed from the government sector. Constitution of Nepal has delegated an authority of educational management to the local government but they are still in confusion where the departure point is? In such context, this article aimed at exploring roles and responsibility of resource teacher for effective management of resource class. For this purpose what are the roles of resource teacher in teaching to children with disability in resource class is the research issue for this study.

Vygotsky's constructivist view on disability as theoretical framework

This theory is built on the basis of promoting educational intervention in which there is less space between normal and special education. As a result, normal education is developed as inclusive education (Boris, 1995). Resource room support service is the form of additional support provided for the learners with special needs. Resource room support service bridges the gap between child and mainstream education providing basic skill such as Braille, sign language etc.

Vygotsky's theory on disability includes cultural historical theory (CHAT) and theory on dysontogenic (theory of distorted development TD). Both CHAT and TD concerns with the characteristics and peculiarities of infant psychological development, the zone of proximal development, developmental education, sociocultural origin of disability, applying dynamic approach to disability, emphasizing the importance of the social situation of development.

This theory is significant for the practice of inclusive education. This theory provides wide range of perspectives and approaches to upbringing, educating and evaluating children with disability. Vygotsky's developmental approach includes the concept of ZPD, social situation development, concept of leading activity, age related psychological new formation, the dynamics and socio-culture approach to disability. Vygotsky's social constructionist view is basically opposed to quantitative diagnostic investigation which also labeled as arithmetic conception of a handicapped condition. He asserted that this is a new understanding of handicaps in developmental process rather than static condition not as the sum of defects and shortcomings. He focuses on the dynamic nature of disability is very significant for special didactic aspects taking into account the constant change in structure and content of disability taking place in the development process influenced by education and remediation (Koda, 2006).

According to Vygotsky, disability is considered as social aberration regardless of biology. He also urges that social aberration springs from children's changing social, environmental relation causing disturbance in social behavior.

Impact of sociocultural approach to disability in inclusive education

Vygotsky urges the importance of dynamic, socio-cultural nature of disability for the methodology of inclusive education. He also stresses about the importance of social learning in the upbringing and educating children with disability. He says that disability is not tragedy. Psychological and physical insufficiency is determined by certain social setting, arrangement or aberration, hindering children from normal socialization. He criticized the parents, teacher, and psychologists regarding pathological approach to child abnormality. He focused on child health not on disorder.

In this study the teacher's role and responsibility construct meaning from the social situation within resource class. The education intervention explores the meaning of social interaction between children with disability and resource teacher. This study stresses how the resource teachers' roles for the creation of the academic environment with the collaboration between stakeholders. By applying the Vygotsky's social constructivism along with ZPD the resource teachers create meaning of roles and responsibility for educating children with disability.

Method

This study has adopted the hermeneutics phenomenology as a research design which studies lived experiences and shared meaning of similar experiences (Creswell, 2009). This design helps to study the teacher's lived experience in resource class in the integrated school of Nepal. The experience and feeling of resource teachers are drawn from the participatory school. The teachers who were participated in this study had long years' experience in teaching to the students with disability. By purposive sampling five resource teachers teaching in two integrated secondary schools from Kathmandu valley were selected as research participants. To overcome ethical dilemma, informed consent was taken from the participants. In depth interview and class observation methods were adopted to gather the robust information. Data were analyzed with the themes of collaboration, observing an activity of resource teacher. Interviews with the participants were recorded by audio recorder. Recorded interviews responses were transcribed as verbatim and developed code. Similar codes were organized to generate several themes. The similar themes were organized as a main theme of the study. Themes were illustrated on the basis of ground data and they were compared and contrasted with data to data and data to literature.

Result and discussion

In this section the information drawn from the respondents in the course of in depth interviews were discussed and analyzed thematically as below:

Early intervention skills

The essential skill required for children with disability to run their daily life in school are termed as intervention skills. Such as food habit, socialization skills, self-protective skills, and independent skills. These skills are helpful for the adaptation of children with disability for independent living. In this relation participant resource teacher, R1 asserted as:

In my resource class student in the age of nine years came and have a class. In the beginning, they are completely non sense and some time they may fall down in the sideways. I teach to the visual impaired children from the basic skill of Braille. How to hold stylus and adjust slate are the fundamental skill for them. Sometimes they feel to be bored and make them relaxed with music.

From the above assertion, the child with disability needs basic skills for surviving at home. Some of the basic skills such as taking bath,

communication skill, clothing, food habit and self-care skill are essential skills that are appropriate for running their life at minimum stage (Bonanni, 2015). The children with disability require complex additional assistance for independence and participation at community with individual support at home as well as school to ensure the best outcomes. The complex additional support requirement is provided to children with disability through period of school transition which is considered to be as social process (Kobayashi & Kuboyama, 2003). In the same assertion another participant R2 stated:

In my class the students from different backgrounds come and stay together. The administration is dividing the students according to the level of severity and its nature. Some students exhibit the problematic behavior and it is difficult to control them. The students with intellectual disability and cerebral palsy urinate in the class and sometimes excrete stools. In such condition, I feel problem to teach in resource class.

In above statement, the resource teacher highlights that resource class in the present context are categorized on the basis of nature of disability and level of severity. In the situation of non categorization, children with one type of disability can distract to teach another type because they are not benefitted by the same treatment. In the sense of other side, the resource teachers are not prepared for teaching adequately to all types of learners with diverse needs. So resource room support service is needed to be facilitated on the basis of categorization and assumption of multiple prospective on the support service with professional service (Gray, 2005).

Interaction with general teacher

In every aspects of teaching to the students with disability by both general and special teachers, they required to have inter-mutual relationship for way forward. In this regard, a teacher shared his experiences as:

I teach the basic socialization skills to the children with disability who exhibit unaccepted behaviors by prompting method. The basic skills acquired by children are not recognized by general teachers and they use traditional methods due to lack of training. According to the voice of disables, the general teachers behave irritably with them and sometimes they show irresponsible behaviors. They feel bored with them and the children with disability are underestimated (Dyson, 1996).

In the above assertion, the teachers in the general class are unable to manage the diversity and ensure the indicators of inclusion. The heterogeneous

natures of students are not addressed by instructors in the classes. A conventional method of teaching obstructs the learning opportunity for diverse learners. Child friendly inclusive environment is required to maintain for ensuring justice in the class for providing equal opportunity to all types of learners (Al-Zoubi & Rahman, 2012). The general education teachers need to understand diversity management and equity pedagogy. The general education teachers is to be fed with new and advanced methods of learning in multicultural approach, culturally responsive pedagogy and sharing of responsibility are highly appreciable in the transition of children with disability from resource to general class.

In the same statements the respondent R3 urged as:

I teach in heterogynous class without availability of materials in general class have lack of knowledge about essential skills to be taught to disabled children. In the job attachment, I was able to join with traditional and theoretical knowledge of normalization has no knowledge of Braille and sign languages. The normal students can entertain in my traditional way of teaching. But the disabled children feel uneasy in the course of teaching.

In the above statement, the general education teachers lack knowledge of disability and know how to impart essential skills required for their daily living. Every aspects of school culture is required to affix welcoming environment for all learners. Pre-service training is needed as prerequisite to job placement. The teachers are launched demand based and refreshment training at certain interval of time. The training matter is completely supported to the need of diverse learners to fulfill the educational goal incorporating to local knowledge embodiment (Wang & Birch 1984). The commitment and responsibility for sharing skills related to disability matter are strictly reflected to classroom context after the training package.

Identification of disability

In resource room, support services are provided on the basis of severity and nature if not so the common service cannot support to the children in their life course. Relating to this matter, participant R4 stated as:

In the beginning when I start teaching in integrated classroom, I cannot detect of all types of disability. Some of the disabilities are hidden and may occur with associated disability. Some students of multiple disabilities are exhibiting the common characteristics such

as intellectual disability and autistic disorder. The children with disability are not provided differentiated curricula and methods of instruction. We teachers of resource class are not provided special training except 45 days but not sufficient.

In the above statement, the children are to be diagnosed by assessment and screening for the effective supplement services. The eligibility criterion for children with disability is essential for imparting authentic and basic knowledge for children with disability. If the level of severity and nature of disability are not detected in massive way, the service may be mismatched and the intervention will not be functional in the favor of differently able children. In the proper identification of children with disability, individualized education plan formation process become smooth and the children get appropriate education whatever they need in running their life (Cook et al., 2018) or how they live with and manage their autism. This qualitative study explored experiences of learning, friendships and bullying of girls with autism. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 11 girls with autism, aged 11–17 years, and one parent of each girl. Thematic analysis identified key themes relating to motivation to have friends, challenges for girls with autism and the notion that many girls tend to mask their autism, which had both positive and negative consequences. Overall, the girls were motivated to have friends, but often encountered social difficulties and were sometimes targeted for bullying. Findings pointed to the need for interventions such as staff training and programmes to support the social interaction of girls with autism based on their specific perceptions of friendship (Cook et al., 2018). By highlighting the above argument participant teacher R3 asserted as:

I have been teaching in resource class for the last two years. The resource room facilities are overlapped for all types of disability. Sometimes my feelings are not supporting to learners in the absence of micro detection and eligibility criteria for special education. Some of the instructional contents are overlapped due to the cross categorical feature of resource class.

On the above feeling of resource teacher, the common curricular content can not address the specific need of children with disabilities. Some students need one type of skill according to their nature and other may need another (Walker et al., 2011). This is not adequate for their life running activity. So, the resource room support services are required to categorize on the basis of characteristics exhibited by handicapped children. In doing so, the requirements of individual learners are addressed without any restriction.

Cooperation with parents

For the success of resource room support service for children with disability in resource class the special teacher needs to cooperate with parents. In the partnership between teachers and parents the present level of performance and eligibility criteria of students can be obtained that makes easier to make individualized education planning. In this context the participant R5 stated as:

In the beginning, teaching children with disability in resource room is a difficult job. I could not recognize their intention in the behavior. I used to teach a kind of matter for them but they showed unaccepted behaviors. They could not tolerate in the duration of resource class. The parent did not consult about the study of children what exactly they need according to their family environment.

In the above statement, the instruction of resource teacher is unsuccessful if the collaboration about teacher and parent did not occur. The information about differently able children and their exhibited characteristics support the instructional planning and organization of content for instruction. The resource teacher develops the strategies to overcome the abnormal attributes of children. Therefore, the parents of disabled children need to share the overall features of child to the resource teacher and cooperate with him for the modification of behavior of child (Somaily et al., 2012). Focusing on the same premises participation R2 asserted as:

Teaching to students of diverse needs, it is uneasy by single teacher. The variation of nature in disability cannot be addressed by one teacher because the teacher is not well trained on how to address the diverse learning needs. The forty-five days training for teacher is inadequate for setting up inclusive environment in class. If the class room is run by more than one teachers, the students of diverse needs will be benefited effectively.

In the above statement, the resource room instruction is not fruitful by single instruction. The resource teacher is unable to address varieties of needs if the responsibilities are not shared by more than one teacher (Bonanni, 2015). For the betterment of teaching on specific skills, co-teaching is an inclusive service model that involves co-planning, co-instructing, and co-assessing to teaching specific content across the curriculum. For successful instruction, co-teaching is essential that the school head teacher is required to plan and support the service delivery model for sharing and teaching to co-teaching partners (Hanushek, 1997).

Student support

It refers to the support mechanism adopted by the teachers for the children with disability in resource class. Before planning to determine the sets of activities to be taught to the students, the teachers need to identify what type of skills are essential for promoting their daily activity and improving their social responsibility. In this regard, participant R3 stated as:

I have been teaching students with visual impairment for the last five years. In my class students with visual deficit come and have the class. I teach Braille script for them to prepare for integrated class. Sometimes, they come to resource class and have music rather than life skills. We are not provided adequate equipment for such imparting aforesaid skills to the disabled children.

By the above experiences of teacher, it is clear that the resource teacher teaches Braille for visually impaired for the transition into integrated class. There is no need assessment mechanism for children with visual impairment in resource class. In the integration with regular class, when student feel problem in mathematics and science like geometry, algebra, demonstration, they go to resource class for music. In such scenario, the roles of resource teacher should not be like bridge for mainstream class. The resource teachers need to seek alternative option to fulfill the gap of above knowledge for the students with visual impairment (Al-Zoubi & Rahman, 2012).

In the same issue participant R4 agreed with R3 and stated as:

I teach in resource class in a very limited condition. I understand that teaching Braille script is only the responsibility of resource teacher. I have not obtained any training for transition management with essential skills. Sometimes, I spend most of the class hours to control the problematic behaviors of children in resource room.

Above statement clarifies that the resource teachers are teaching only in nominal scale. They are not imparting knowledge whatever is essential for children with disabilities. The teachers need to prepare by insight what they need to teach in the resource class besides the traditional attitude. In the beginning of teaching, the resource teacher is required to think about transition planning strategies. The resource teacher needs to be prepared mentally to teach essential skills required for his/her students. Besides this, the teachers require to think about assessment planning to evaluate whether the students are qualified or not.

Teacher support

The resource teacher assists general teacher about how to address the diverse needs of learners by gathering and sharing information with respect to modeling strategies, co-teaching, planning for an implementation of relevant educational intervention. In this regard, participant R4 expressed as:

I teach some of students in regular class. They do not like to attend in normal class. The students perceived not supported class for disabled children. In resource room I interpret some of the writing of students from regular class which I found not sequential but fragmented. Sometimes, the dictation is found to be deviated from the particular situation and particular subject matter is becoming superficial.

In the above version of teacher, the resource teachers are feeling unsatisfactory about the normal class. In regular class, the general teacher was unable to address the needs of diverse learner. So, the student lacked to grasp the matter whatever general teacher instructs. If the teacher did not know the sign language, the students with hearing problem will not benefit from the regular class. In such context, the resource teacher is required to support general teacher and they have to cooperate for universal learning. The collaboration between resource teacher and general teacher is highly appreciable to impart knowledge for handicapped child (M. C. Wang & Birch, 1984). In this regard, participant R5 urged as:

Inclusive education policy is not functioning well due its poor implementation. The policy implementation is very weak in the reference of teacher training, resource room management, inclusive placement, diversity management in the contemporary situation of education. The forty-five days training for inclusive teacher is inadequate in the inclusive class. Some of the general teachers are unaware of language of disability. Therefore, they face difficulty in managing inclusion in the classroom.

In the above assertion, the flexibility in policy implementation is creating obstacles for educating children with disability. In policy the teachers with adequate knowledge are deployed in service. Generally, teachers are overloaded with particular trainings. But practice is not running in this way in the field of inclusive education. To overcome the above issue, the recruitment is required to adopt from the specialization of relevant subject rather than short term training. The diversity of children demands

that teacher use various instructional strategies rather than one size -fits all approach (Elkins, et al., 2003). The teachers in the classroom need to plan actively for appropriate education program that enhances the full participation of students with disability (Bubpha et al., 2012).

Conclusion

Resource room support service is a milestone for welcoming students with disability who are out of mainstream education. Affirmative action can be launched by promoting the efficiency of facilities in the resource class with effective leadership and effective management. The students with disabilities will be highly benefitted if resource teacher is enthusiastic to reflect their performance on the basis of need assessment. To convert their performance more insightful, the resource teachers need to cooperate with parent in every aspect of education for disability. The major roles of resource teachers are concerning to identification of need for children with disability, cooperation with parents and general teachers, and contribute to transition planning. The essential roles and responsibilities are derived from this study are teacher support, student support, leadership, management and many more actions. The implications will not only provide recommendations for special and integrated education teachers and parents, but also for students with disabilities and their families to assist in the transition to community and mainstream education.

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Headteachers' Instructional Leadership at Community Schools

Mr. Rudra Prasad Danai*

Abstract

This article explores instructional leadership of few headteachers of Dhading district. Due to the primitive model of school leadership, students faced obstacles in achieving educational goals. The objectives of this research are to explore the tradition of the headteachers' leadership of school and the role of the headteachers for the transformation of the educational attempts and achievements. This research followed phenomenological research method. Five headteachers leading the schools for more than a decade were interviewed. The data thus collected were interpreted through coding, categorizing and comparing the key themes. The research finds that the leadership role of the headteachers in the past was responsible for lagging behind the target of the educational achievement as recommended by the curriculum. This study concludes that the school leadership must be cross-threaded in instructional process, pedagogy, information, and communication technology (ICT).

Keywords: headteachers, instructional leadership, traditional leadership, pedagogy, educational achievement

Introduction

It was my big curiosity to understand the school headteachers and class teachers in the modern days regarding their roles in leading schools and educational practices as a leader. This question rose in my mind with seeing the bigger strides in science and technology, pedagogy in global context

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and research but I found the Nepalese school education achievement yet on the same paradigm of result than in other countries of Asia like China, Bhutan and India. Hence, I proposed to do an in-depth research on the instructional leadership for educational change as a new concept in the context of Nepal though this is not new to American and European country schools including the practices in China and India. I feel it necessary to do because many reports show that the secondary level education in Nepal is not qualitative despite of showered resources to the government secondary level education. According to Budhathoki et al., 2014, p. 1, "High rate of the SLC failing students from public schools shows poor quality of teaching-learning in school." Furthermore, Aryal (2013) reports that the provision of quality education has been written into government policies for more than 50 years but somewhere along the road its meaning became distorted, with quality being equated with test results, or the number of children passing the SLC by mentioning the views of undersecretary of ministry of education, Nepal. The result analysis of SLC examination from 2041 to 2050 also does not show any sign of improvement in Nepalese secondary level school education. The result percentage limits only below 50 percentages. So, in its report, GON (2005, p. 9) mentions, "Public schools and their teachers are subjected to harsh criticisms and humiliation for the persisting under-performance of students in the SLC examinations. In comparison to SAARC countries' secondary level school result also, Nepal seems below average in its result percentage. The neighboring country India, Maldives and Bhutan score approximately 70 percent whereas the SLC pass rate of Nepalese students is below 50 percent every year (GON, 2005, pp. 344-345). Rijal, Poudel, Goutam, Bista, Dahal, Khatiwada, , & Chongbang, K. B. (2017). (2017, p. 69) show:

Through the classroom observation, the teachers of the schools with low performance were found very weak in providing students with the counseling services; interacting with their colleagues about teaching learning process; planning and preparation; collecting, designing and using instructional materials; visiting the libraries; browsing internet; planning future work, and reflecting their own work.

To all these problems of raising the status of the school academically and increasing the educational achievement of the school, the headteachers' role is too important as they provides the overall leadership of school management, academic leadership and school development. Rijal et al.(2017, p. 69) further remark, "The roles

of headteachers encompass creating an atmosphere of mutual cooperation among stakeholders, maintaining discipline, morale and manners, preparing schools operating plan, running daily administration, evaluating the performance of the teachers, discuss the problems of schools etc." Hence, there is a significant role of the headteacher to improve the school with outstanding performances and academic achievement as an overall leader of the school. As (Singh & Allison, 2016, pp. 79-81) conclude visioning and goal setting, building positive school culture supporting teachers and students to improve learning, cultivating leadership in others, managing school resources and operation, leading for continuous improvement are the dimensions for effective school leadership, this research also seeks the role of headteachers for transformation of the educational attempts and achievement and the tradition of school leadership and their effect in school progress on transformative education.

Literature review

The phrase "Teacher Leadership" has multiple meanings that ranges from collective professional leadership of trade union rights to the leadership of an individual teacher to his pedagogical practices in the classroom for the psychological advancement of the learners including whole school leadership. This research mainly focuses at second type of headteachers' school leadership and his inclusive practice of planning for educational change to enhance quality in school education. The report of National Planning Commission, (2013) as cited by (Singh & Allison, 2016, p. 2) states, "The Nepalese government's three-year interim plan for 2013-2015 clearly identified school dropout and class repetition in all grades, pointed to lower pass rates, poor quality of professional development among teachers, and lack of quality in public schools as major challenges for the immediate future. This is supposed to be burning issues in the context of Nepalese schools that the teachers are more regarded with teaching through examination point of view than helping learners learn the knowledge and skills. The Nepalese school classrooms practices are still dominated by lecture method where the learners seem to be passive and the teachers seem to be active.

The current teaching methodology focuses more on child-centered method with the use of teaching methods, research based, thought provoking, instructional technology where the students can produce or generate the knowledge by themselves. Although the teachers are aware of this, the use

of modern teaching material, modern instructional technology etc., have not been used in the classroom and it has hindered on the quality in education. For this purpose, the headteacher and other teachers are expected to play the role of leading students to learning rather than stereotypical delivery of the lesson. I think that this would definitely make students ready to learn, get motivated, be guided, investigative, studious, interactive, practical and energized. The teacher leadership, I think, will help the teachers know their learners and make new policy of learning in their classroom. On the other hand, the overall advancement of the school environment also is in the hand of the teachers. The schools where the teachers are dynamic and leading are found to have been in the frontlines of quality in education. As cited from Cuban (1984) and Bamburg and Andrews (1990) by Hallinger, Wang, Chen, & Li (2005),

The instructional leaders influence more than 'position power' in motivating staffs towards collective goals and these are the hands-on leaders, hip-deep in curriculum and instruction. They focus on coordinating, controlling and supervising curriculum and instruction as well as monitoring progress towards desired outcomes. The principals find themselves at the nexus of accountability and school improvement with an increasingly explicit expectation that they will function as 'instructional leaders' (Hallinger, 2005, p. 222).

As mentioned by Bolam (2003, 2001), Heck, personal communication (2003), Jackson (2000), Lam (2003), Leithwood (2003) and Tomlinson, (2003), in (Hallinger, 2005, p. 222), "Given the passage of formal government standards for education through the world, principals who ignore their role in monitoring and improving school performances do so at their own risk."

According to (MOE, 2016), the objectives of secondary level education are to make students ready for the world of work developing their skills and knowledge through equitable access to education without compromising on quality. This aims to provide options and accredited learning pathways for students between technical and general secondary education, strengthen institutional links and facilitate the transition to higher education, prepare students to uphold and fulfill their civic duties and ensure the acquisition of foundation skills through technical and vocational education at secondary level that will enable adolescents to acquire skill sets.

Teacher as a leader

Similarly, regarding fulfilling the demand of quality in secondary level education, claims of (Bakhati & Ciani, 2015, p. 24)

The teachers can be accepted as an effective agent to bring changes and core person of any issues in learning community. During the learning time or process, teacher is one of the trustworthy persons for students especially in the school education. One of the clear notions of every society is that if the teacher is aware of the issues associated with community or society, he can bring the positive changes because the teacher is closely connected with students, parents and community people as well.

The teachers are key role player to maintain quality in education and the headteachers are supposed to be crystal leaders to make it come true. To this point, (Dahal, 2019, p. 12) insists,

The teacher's role is very important to determine the student learning, performance and academic achievement. To this point, the headteacher is responsible to monitor the overall performance of the school including preparation of the reading materials by teachers, their punctuality in school time, teaching method, interaction with students, use of modern technology in class teaching, checking of assignment and feedback.

This proves that the pressure on schools and educational system to achieve the excellence is greater than ever before. In the case of Nepal too, there is a big pressure of the stakeholders on maintaining quality in education and the only teachers are supposed to be the players in the ring. Hence, it is necessary to explore the ways to develop teacher as the leader of education so that s/he can act to change the classroom, his school and community. In the era of globalization, the pressure on schools and educational systems to achieve excellence is greater than before. One obvious reason of emphasizing teachers' leadership and collaboration of teaching has been the core of school improvement and success. Teachers are more closely connected to student learning with front line contacts. Teachers who have excellent skills in pedagogy and who have strong willingness to help other teachers are critical for school success may offer alternative leadership forces.

As cited in Brooks, Scribner, & Eferakorho (2004, p. 246), Fullan (1993) argued that teachers must exhibit proficiency in several "interrelated domains" to function as leaders, i.e. (1) knowledge of teaching and learning, (2) knowledge of collegiality, (3) knowledge of educational contexts, (4) knowledge through continuous learning, (5) knowledge of the change process and (6) moral purpose.

Institute for Educational Leadership (2001) in its report has identified ten areas of teacher leadership where teacher involvement is actually essential to the health of a school (p. 3). The report listed critical issues that transcend traditional roles such as instructor, evaluator, curriculum developer, and behavior manager to include promotion and retention committee member, decider of school budgets, selector of new administrators and teachers, and designer of professional development plans ("HOME | Institute for Educational Leadership," n.d.). (Brooks, 2004, p. 246),

Lieberman & Miller (2005, p. 152) agree, "Teaching is regarded as highly intellectual work, grounded in professional communities where teachers assume responsibility for the learning of their students and of one." They interpret, "Under this interpretation, teachers assume roles as researchers, mentors, scholars, and developers; they expand the meaning of what it means to be a teacher. They are leaders and intellectuals who can make a difference in their schools and profession."

Headteacher as a sole school leader

How the teachers can address all the issues to ensure quality in education in school and increase the achievement of the students depends solely on the role of the head teacher. As mentioned in (Singh & Allison, 2016) cited from Leithwood et al. (2008):

School leaders support teachers in order to improve their performances through building their capacities, improving working conditions, and by offering motivation to excel. Successful leaders seek to ensure their teachers have appropriate expertise by providing instructional support and the resources necessary for them to excel in their profession, providing a safe and orderly school environment, and being sensitive to the needs of individual students.

As suggested by Glanz & Neville (1997), Hallinger & Heck (1996) and Sheppard, (1996) cited in (Bozkuş & Bayrak, 2019, p. 335) on the role of the headteacher in professional development of the teachers is claimed as, "School administrators play a vital role in the professional development of teachers." Similarly, as cited in (Bozkuş & Bayrak, 2019, p. 335) from Fullan (2006), Elmore (2000), Usdan (2000) and Clement and Vandenberghe (2001), it is suggested as, "Administrators should develop the appropriate school culture to develop teachers' knowledge and skills and support teachers' professional development. In this respect, the role of administrators is to align organizational features with professional development." Brooks, Scribner

& Eferakorho (2004) declare, "The headteacher's role in relation to school reform and teacher leadership is crucial. Like changing conceptions of teacher leadership, headteacher leadership has also undergone a change in perspective (p. 247). They suggest two key ideas of headteacher or headteachers' role : first, successful implementation of school reform is dependent on a school's instructional capacity and second, to nurture a school's instructional capacity citing from Spillane & Louis (2002). In a report on headteachers leadership of school, The Wallace Foundation, (2013, p. 6) recommends:

The headteacher's role entails five key responsibilities: 1) Shaping a vision of academic success for all students, one based on high standards. 2) Creating a climate hospitable to education in order that safety, a cooperative spirit and other foundations of fruitful interaction prevail. 3) Cultivating leadership in others so that teachers and other adults assume their parts in realizing the school vision. 4) Improving instruction to enable teachers to teach at their best and students to learn to their utmost. 5) Managing people, data and processes to foster school improvement.

This concludes that the headteacher as the school leader must strengthen on creating the appropriate climate of educational practices in classroom and must cultivate the vision for the best teaching and learning.

Instructional leadership

The research and reports including the articles on the leadership role of the headteacher of a school, it is focused that the headteacher's main concern is the instructional emphasis than others. He is the key responsible person in creating the hospitable teaching and learning environment, visioning and planning, shaping the instructional designs at school and influencing the teachers with innovative pedagogical attempts through motivation. (The Wallace Foundation, 2013, p. 6) envisions:

Effective work of the headteachers relentlessly is to improve achievement by focusing on the quality of instruction. They help define and promote high expectations; they attack teacher isolation and fragmented effort; and they connect directly with teachers and the classroom. Effective headteachers also encourage continual professional learning. They emphasize research-based strategies to improve teaching and learning and initiate discussions about instructional approaches, both in teams and with individual teachers. They pursue these strategies despite the preference of many teachers to be left alone.

Here, the report finalizes that the Headteachers' work in major is to focus on quality of instructions for improving teaching. His role is supposed to be crucial for transformation of school academically with educational achievement. Geijssel, Slegers, & Stoel, (2009) as cited in (Shava & Tlou., 2018, p. 4) have identified the three dimensions of transformative leadership as, "Vision development, individual consideration, and intellectual stimulation. Individual consideration has to be understood from the perspective that a transformative leader acknowledges the individual aspirations, actions, beliefs and values, rather than favouring the individual."

Statement of the problem

It is commonly believed that the quality in education reflects in the annual result of the students' grade examinations. The Secondary Education Examination (SEE) and the student success rate is assumed chiefly as the quality of education, teachers' excellence and assurance of the children's future whereas there are still many miles to go to prove the quality in education in the context of our country school. Especially in Dhading district too, among the SEE, Class 8 and 10 board examinations, the class 12-board examination result is always below fifty percent and number of failure students is bigger. Only SEE result does not prove the total quality of teachers (Department of Education (DoE), 2016, p. 70). Many stakeholders seem to be criticizing the teachers for not achieving good result. Only the teachers are supposed to be responsible keys to quality education. The government school teachers are criticized on their dedication, punctuality, competencies, skillfulness, and technical knowledge, compassion to children, updated-ness, studiousness and responsibility to the nation. The teachers are in a big moral pressure of maintaining the quality in education in reality too. This is also because the graph of private school results that seems risen very high than government schoolteachers. The comparison of private school results with that government school results not heeding to role playing factors, also creates mistrust over public school teachers and this results the decreasing number of students in rural and city-based schools. Hence, the solution over these problems must be sought in time. In nutshell, the public-school headteachers are blamed of not being able to prioritize on educational progress and seem as the leaders of school development rather than leader of educational achievement. Although he comes from teacher, his concern seems more on school management and development than quality control.

This research will, therefore, explore the hindrances and lagging of the public-school headteachers in Nepal and suggest leadership qualities and competencies that the public-school headteachers need to build in them. As mentioned by Edmonds (1979a, 1979b, 1982) in ("Effective School Management - K.B. Everard, Geoff Morris, Ian Wilson - Google Books," n.d., p. 2), he has identified five attributes of effective schools as:

Strong administrative leadership, without which, the disparate elements of good schooling can be neither brought together nor kept together, climate of expectation in which, no children are permitted to fall below minimum but efficacious levels of achievement, the school's atmosphere is orderly without being rigid, quiet without being oppressive, and generally conducive to the instructional business at hand, make it clear that pupil acquisition of basic school skills takes precedence over all other school activities, and there must be some means by which pupil progress can be frequently monitored.

The instructional leadership behavior of the school headteachers plays crucial role on the nucleus of the school. Researches as mentioned in ("Effective School Management - K.B. Everard, Geoff Morris, Ian Wilson - Google Books," n.d.) by (Larson-Knight, 2000; Blasé & Blasé, 1999a, 1999b, 1998; Sheppard, 1996; and Chrispeels, 1992) shows that headteachers who demonstrate instructional behaviors extract more commitment and satisfaction from teachers, as well as establish a climate that encourages trust, risk, and collaboration.

In this way, such practices are widely being done in American and European School and unless, the Nepalese schoolteachers act in the same way, neither our education can grow to the height of quality nor they can win public trust.

This research is concentrated over the role and responsibilities of the public-school teachers in the current context and their expected roles for future to change their classroom, pedagogy, school and community through leader perspectives. This study explored the answers to the following questions:

- i. What can be the role of the headteachers for transformation of the educational attempts and achievement?
- ii. What is the tradition of headteachers leadership of school?

Rationale of the study

The headteachers' leadership roles, such as curriculum coordinator, subject specialist, mentor and teacher trainers are considered crucial to school development due to the teacher leaders' ability to undertake major tasks, influence changes and reforms, and serve as a bridge between the top leadership and fellow teachers. Their pivotal role in school functioning has convinced educational organizations around the world to invest in leadership capacity building of teacher leaders by offering opportunities, such as PD programmes, courses and workshops. Moreover, they are encouraged to learn by taking risks, experimenting and trying new things (Bennis, 2009), by being a protégé of their senior colleagues, or working in a community of practice (Stephenson & Howard, 2011). Teacher leaders' ability to create instructionally specific dialogues, develop trusting relationships and work in collaborative cultures lead to their professional learning Portin, (2009) as cited in (Stephenson & Howard, 2011). These opportunities, whether self-created or offered by their organizations, are vital for teachers who lack educational leadership experience, training and knowledge of leadership theories and practices. Since not many studies have sought to investigate this area before, it is vital to explore how teacher leaders develop their leadership repertoire in the field of classroom, school and community.

Theoretical framework

Instructional leadership has different definitions and models that conceptualize it starting from the early 1900's. The current study synthesizes many definitions and models of instructional leadership using theoretical and empirical considerations. The instructional leadership construct is defined in terms of headteacher behavior that lead a school to educate all students to high achievement. The current research on instructional leadership incorporates behaviors, which define and communicate shared goals, monitor and provide feedback on the teaching and learning process, and promote school-wide professional development. Instructional leadership represents behaviors of a school leader. In this study, I have specifically examined the perception of secondary school headteacher. Through synthesis of different instructional leadership models according to Weber (1996), Murphy (1990), Hallinger & Murphy (1985) and Hallinger & Heck (1996) as mentioned in ("Effective School Management - K.B. Everard, Geoff Morris, Ian Wilson - Google Books," n.d.), I have carried out a study of an instructional leadership styles of the public school headteacher.

(George, 2006) declares that the leadership must introduce four elements of transformational leadership, i.e., individualized consideration, Intellectual stimulation, inspirational motivation and idealized influence.

This research includes the interpretivist paradigm and interprets the leadership theory on instructional leadership for the transformation and improvisation of the schools' academic achievement through better leadership. Burns (1978, p. 4) contends in (*Educational Leadership and Reform* (Google eBook), 2005) Ohio State University, "The transforming leader looks for potential motives in followers, seeks to satisfy higher needs, and engages the full person of the follower." These opinions and research findings may be outstanding guidelines for instructional leadership and provide guiding vision to the headteacher.

Therefore, I have made thorough study of "theory of transformational leadership, instructional leadership of the headteachers and link it in the context of Nepalese school leadership. I also reviewed Nepalese education acts, laws including the constitutions, reviewed the research, and project reports like SSRP, SSDP, studied the educational theory, leadership theory, socio-cultural theory and elicited the core knowledge. Similarly, I surveyed the conditions of government school teachers, compared the government high schools according to their academic achievement, physical development, planning and explored the gaps.

Methodology

Nepalese public school headteachers, their leadership role and the academic status of those schools in rural area in connection with their academic achievement, students' success rate and the challenges that the school headteachers are facing to promote their school are the ontological base for this research. This research makes the interactions and interviews as the epistemological foregrounding for inquiry process. Therefore, as said, "The position of interpretivism in relation to ontology and epistemology is that interpretivist believe the reality is multiple and relative," mentioned by Hudson and Ozanne, (1988) in (Bagozzi, 1991, p. 508), this research has adopted interpretivist paradigm to explain, as recommended by (Guba & Lincoln, 1995), that these multiple realities also depend on other systems for meanings, which make it even more difficult to interpret in terms of fixed realities. The knowledge acquired in this discipline is socially constructed rather than objectively determined (Carson, Gilmore, Perry, & Gronhaug, 2011). According to (Dammak, n.d.), "Epistemologically, interpretivist

adhere to a subjectivist view in those subjective meanings and subjective interpretations have great importance. Like suggested by (Dammak, n.d.) "Interpretive researchers use different methodologies such as case studies, phenomenology, and ethnography, this research has followed the phenomenological design. As cited by (Dammak, n.d.) from Denzin and Lincoln (2008: 29), "Qualitative researchers deploy a wide range of interconnected interpretive methods, always seeking better ways to make more understandable the worlds of experiences they have studied" and according to (Sönmez, 2013), "The philosophical base of interpretive research is hermeneutics and phenomenology (Boland, 1985). This research too is based on phenomenological model and has followed qualitative, descriptive design. I gathered information/data from the target population, analyzed and presented collected data by implementing an in-depth research design to provide insights into the why and how of research.

The participants for this research were sampled on the basis of purposive judgmental sampling. Five public secondary school headteachers were selected and interviewed with open-ended questions, unstructured interview schedule. Some published data also were taken for determining the questionnaire and interview. The data analysis in this research is based on description. This method involves the reformulation of stories presented by participants taking into account context of each case and different experiences of each participant. In other words, narrative analysis is the revision of primary qualitative data by researcher. Therefore, I have described the story of both groups of participants, show the comparisons and make conclusions.

A research is not only a scientific, investigative process but also an ethical process. A researcher has to assure and ensure there will be no any sort of harm, insecurity, lose, confidentiality and selfish treatment to the participants by the researcher. Hence, I abided by the civil rights of the citizens with respect to the rights of security, secrecy, safety and have regarded my participant only as the primary source of data. The data have not been interpreted by mentioning the participant name third person point of view has been used.

This research has covered only within the headteacher's' practices of classroom teaching planning and leading schools with better exercise. This is the study of only the role of headteachers in leading schools according to the result percentage of the students in board examinations and promotions of the school's physical development and planning. This will be only the

study of public high schools of the southern two village municipality schools.

Result and discussion

In the 20-minute-long interview of the school leaders, i.e., head-teachers as the participant of this research, one of them responded that he was the founding headteacher of the school in the remote part of the district and he was administering the school for the last 30 years and he also has been leading teachers' professional organization. Another participant replied that he had run a private school for the last ten years as the headteacher and later after succeeding in Teacher Service Commission's examination of secondary level; he began teaching English and later has been assigned the responsibility of the headteacher for the last year. Before being the headteacher, he replied that he worked as the assistant headteacher of the school. The other three research participants were experienced head teacher running public school for a decade. This shows that the participants were experienced school leaders.

Status of educational outcome

All the participants' schools were well established high school in Dhading. Their response to a question asked on the status of academic achievement was that their school had satisfactory result as an educational achievement in comparison to the past time and current neighboring schools but that was not commendable in comparison to the district average. According to Mathema (2007) as cited by (Parajuli & Das, 2013, p. 151) "Nepal is confronted with two major problems- firstly a great number of youth are still out of school and secondly a great majority of those who are in school are not receiving quality education." The participant agreed that the school's academic outcome in the past was very poor due to lack of trained and qualified teachers, learner friendly infrastructure and traditional approach of the leadership of the headteacher. They claimed that this is improving nowadays with the availability of the good, qualified and trained teachers including building of infrastructures

Leadership types

The instructional process in the school is the key factor in school's educational achievement. The teachers are the key role players of the classroom instruction and the headteacher is the sole leader of the instructional process, integration of technology with methodology for overall instructional system of the

school. In case the headteachers cannot attend on these matters, the classroom instruction that can directly affect the school's educational achievement can be unstructured, unsystematic and cannot achieve the goals. A school headteacher is the one who plays crucial role in unifying the instructional process at school within certain frame. Hence, the school progress or the learner's achievement depends on the role of the school leaders. Lynch (2016) suggests, "There are four types of leadership playing different roles and according to the strategy they work including their effect in academia, i.e., servant leadership, transactional leadership, emotional leadership and transformational leadership. On this matter, the participants' view was that the cause of most of the school's failure was chiefly the primitive approach of school leadership. The leadership in the primitive approach was that he was autocratic with some power of bureaucracy in the initial phase, the autocratic leader in the past possessed terrific personality and maintained hierarchy of their positions and respect. This kept the distance between the teacher and students and limited the teaching and learning into the formality rather than nurturing learning habit. In the medieval period of Nepal i.e. before the sixties in the context of Nepal, the headteacher became like a manager who had to manage every environment of the school and had less attention on the instructional functions. The managerial headteachers' job was just to manage the learning environment where the students are sought to learn by themselves and teaching and learning more focused on developing cognitive constructivism. The participants viewed that the current time is the time of technology which has burst the knowledge in the world and also has networked the world teachers and learners. Hence, the headteachers of schools have new challenge of adjusting themselves, their school culture and stakeholders to the instructional process. This is also because, the school teachers and headteachers nowadays, come from the sound academic environment bringing more academic excellence than the previous school leaders. The instructional headteacher is that school leader who envisions the school with prediction of target to achieve for future and they emphasize on social construction of knowledge. He accepts the facts that the knowledge is generated as a result of collaboration between teachers and students. On this regard, the instructional leaders as the headteachers of school vision and act together, make their educational activities inclusive from all angles, and keep information of educational innovation in global perspective, plan and implicate in their schools for good result and learning. This concludes that there are three types of school headteacher i.e., a) Autocratic b) Managerial and c) Instructional. The autocratic and managerial headteachers have many problems in running

schools that causes the educational underachievement. The autocratic headteacher is hierarchical, bossy and power imposing. The managerial headteacher engages more in management than in leading school with educational, learning oriented activities and he is far off the pedagogy. He is procedural, legal and works as a resource person. The best of the school headteachers are those who can provide instructional leadership like the transformative leaders as suggested by Lynch (2016) to the school with technology, pedagogy and collaboration. The instructional leadership is the most wanted demand of the stakeholders in running schools otherwise the school lags behind the target always.

Challenges in instructional leadership

Instructional leadership is the latest concept of the leadership as a reaction to the problems created by the autocratic and managerial leadership of the headteacher in school to fulfill the academic achievement in the ground. Since, it came as the reaction to the former two leadership process, it has big challenges of maintaining quality in school result, academic excellence and creating the proper instructional environment between the student and teachers. As said by Timperley (2005, pp. 16-17), the challenges for instructional leadership at school are, "Developing systems for promoting professional learning, improving the capacity of individuals and school, contextualizing the learning within the teachers' actual work situations, and transferring of skills and knowledge from the learning environment to the classroom and enthusiasm for developing internal capacity." The centre of focus of this kind of leadership is to play vital role in pedagogy and technological integration, keeping information of everything as the leader and addressing all kinds of educational problems. Updating own-self including the colleagues, changing the classroom procedure, maintaining collaboration and participation, visioning for future achievement and academic excellence and giving distinct identity of the school than the past are the challenges of instructional leadership. Unless a paradigm shift on pedagogical practices and establishing quality circle for quality product in school, the learners cannot learn competitively and cannot be ready for global opportunity.

Defects of primitive leadership

The history of school leadership from the past is the most responsible unit to the progress and failure of the school. The bossy headteachers autocratic with the bureaucratic power were more concerned on the legal process

and their dignity rather than on quality of school. Only the education was for enthusiasts and most of the learners did not catch the target. Hence, it showed the performance of the school very poor. To improve the situation, new type of leadership was imagined and created as the managerial headteacher who focused only on construction of the environment rather than construction of the knowledge. Both of the school leaders were unable to meet the educational target. During these leadership period, especially teaching and learning based on examination-oriented training and the number of the students having pass result were accounted as the educational successfulness. The learners were more imposed to learning through listening and reading. Teachers' stereotypical delivery of the lesson was the major factor during that period. The student's potential of learning and their creativity as well as knowledge were not prioritized. The things aimed at teaching were not taught very well and it did not discriminate the personality of the educated with uneducated.

Schools with instructional leadership

The schools with instructional leadership emphasize on pedagogical shift. The schools must be established as the resource centre for knowledge whereabout the students keep trust as they can solve their problems by going there. They must be assured that they can get enough support from their teachers and standardize their knowledge and skills as per global perspectives. These schools are not for rote learning. Instead, they must be able to collapse the barrier that limits the learning. This must be able to show the guidelines for future of the students. Wallace Foundation (2012, p. 4) suggests, "Shaping a vision of academic success for all students, creating a climate hospitable to education, cultivating leadership in others, improving instruction, managing people, data and processes to foster school improvement." The schools with instructional leadership must maintain the learning environment through future vision, instructional improvements and appropriate learning environment everywhere and widen the universality of the learning.

Conclusions

This research on instructional leadership is the outcome of the dissatisfaction to the traditional schooling system. This came as a result of the pursuit of alternatives to traditional schooling system and explored many possibilities of changing the schools with better learning and cash the competitive educational achievement. This concludes that the children today are seeking instructional leadership of the school headteacher which can line up for

pedagogy, honour learner creation, flexibility of instructors, updating of the teachers, maintaining collaboration and cooperation and let the potential of the learners burst out in the classroom.

In Nutshell, due to predominance of autocratic primitive leaders of the school as the headteachers in the past, quality in education could not be maintained in our context. Similarly, the medieval period school leaders too were failure character due to their managerial role and never paid attention to the school pedagogy, staff motivation, collaboration, discuss on agenda of quality and success of the learners. A school, if cannot play crucial role on shaping the children's mind, is no longer a better place for them. Hence, the instructional leaders only can address all those issues and establish the school as the best learning place which can shape the children's future through quality in education and creates the environment. The headteachers in the present context rise to this situation for the overall improvement of quality in education at school.

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Indigenous Knowledge in Mundum and Suptulung

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Abstract

The dominance of formal education over the indigenous education along with the language and culture has been a pressing issue in almost all cultures of the world. The Nepalese education system is also largely influenced by the western education system. So, it is inevitable that Nepalese students too are influenced by the western education. Rai community is one of 125 indigenous groups having rich indigenous knowledge. Particularly, they have vocational education of the food security that transforms the knowledge through the cultural practices, which is close to nature and thus a unique one. The significance of the food security means survival for the whole year. Mundumic education focuses on the survival in nature and to reduction of poverty. However, such indigenous type of cultural activities as part of education have not been recognized and put into priority in the government's curriculum. This is an example of a missing link of such cultural heritage in our curriculum. Therefore, I propose here to explain a typical Binayo Movie thematically having indigeneity in its content suitable for inclusion in national curriculum. This Movie is a key to establish the Mundum and Suptulung identity within this community contributing to indigenous identity for the future generations. Thus, this article explores some significant aspects of Mundumic cultural education which helps conserve indigenous knowledge on the one hand, and on the other, reduce poverty through indigenous skills of food production and security.

Keywords: indigenous knowledge, Mundum, Suptulung, food security, Sakela

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Introduction

This article aims at figuring out useful and effective teaching and learning contents, which are one of the most important necessities of national educational system. Teachers in the system have a determining role in training such pupils in the mentioned fields. A school is a place where new ideas germinate; roots strike and grow tall and sturdy. It is a unique space, which covers the entire universe of knowledge. It is a place where creative minds converge, interact with each other and construct visions of new realities. Established notions of truth are challenged in the pursuit of knowledge. To be able to do all this, getting help from experienced teachers can be very useful and effective, while indigenous education system differs in paradigmatically. Indigenous education is reconfirmed by the indigenous philosophy. In Nepal's context according to Rana (2018) among the 125 indigenous groups, 123 languages are spoken but only some languages have their own script and spoken scriptures. Among them, Kirat and Kirat Rai are such indigenous groups having their education system guided by Mundum.

Educators and policy makers have long recognized the central role that education can play in creating a more sustainable and equitable world (cf. Acharya and Robinson, 2019). Yet the current system of mainstream higher education has not prepared learners sufficiently to graduate with the capabilities or motivation to shape and create a future that is life sustaining. While indigenous people do not have access to formal education in their own language, they transmit their knowledge as education verbally from generation to generation.

For the indigenous knowledge owners, the government does not show any interest in acknowledging in spite of the indigenous people's own education system. Undoubtedly, indigenous education is related with the spiritual culture, e.g., *Sakela* is a ritual cultural name, which is mainly about the food security system and process. Jiri, Mafongoya and Chivenge (2015) argue that local knowledge is concerned with the emerging climate change. These knowledge systems are transmitted and reconnected by every generation for good health and food security.

Additionally, food security means all security such as ecological, physical, and mental. The Kirat Rai people renew the relation with the *Mang* (God) twice every year *Dhirinam* and *Chhirinam* through *Sakela* celebration. They start this cultural celebration by venerating in *Suptulung*. Up to four days,

they worship the *Suptulung* at every house by elder, some special rites are performed by *Mangpa/Nakchho/Nachhung/Yadangba*. Finally, on the fifth day, they go to *Sakela* with *Mangpa* and ask for the good health and the food security by chanting the *Rishya*. They humbly request whatever in the earth and sky with the *Sakela Mang* by performing the *silli* (a kind of traditional dance allowed to all children and elders) in round shape for their well-being. This *silli* act as a farming process, are imitation of animal, birds, and everything else that are used in livelihood. The meaning of that imitation is to respect all nature and natural things as well remember the process of work, agriculture, help each other, and respect equality. These acts are performed in the sense of food security. If food is sufficient, every nature, creature will be good and enhance livelihood in order is the main objective of the *Sakela Dhirinam* and *Chhirinam*.

Mundum's knowledge and education is perceived by people as the value of *Sakela* and the food security. Its example is innate in Binayo movie that describes how Mundum and *Suptulung* are at the center of the Kirat Rai people. Only a few documents and sources are available on the Mundumic knowledge and education system. In alarming rate, the people and the society are losing its significance and precious knowledge gradually. Here I propose to describe some Mundumic knowledge and the value of *Suptulung*. From the 'Binayo' movie new generations of the Kirat Rai people can understand their native culture. They recognize and realize what and how their worldview is. The people cannot buy the cultural identity with money. Thus, as a reference for readers, I describe the Binayo movie.

The Mundumic knowledge and education are encompassed in very few elderly people. In the movie, one can explore beautiful knowledge and wisdom. Indigenous people have different worldviews about the universe. Their indigenous knowledge belongs to the spiritual world. Nakata (2002) expresses that indigenous knowledge is holistic, grounded, powerless, incapable, ineffective, and culturally massive. Mundumic knowledge does not have excess to exposure in any mass media visibly. Mundum's worldviews are different from other indigenous worldviews.

Presently, the Mundumic worldview, knowledge, and education are in critical phase of endangerment. It is very necessary to preserve the indigenous paradigm of valuable knowledge of Mundum and *Suptulug*. With this existing situation within a couple of decades, the Mundum and *Suptulung* cannot remain as a cultural identity of the Kirat Rai people. They are losing their identity along with culture and language.

This is our responsibility to preserve this cultural heritage to continue cultural diversity of the nation. Otherwise, our succeeding generation's life will end in cultural disaster. Culture and identity are most important for human beings. It makes them humans, independent and self-determining. Many people are fighting for the identity in the world today. As an example, the Kirat and Kirat Rai identity and culture have well been expressed in Binayo Movie. This movie works as a small window for Mundum and *Suptulung*.

According to World Bank's (Apr 02, 2019) updated review, there are approximately 370 million Indigenous Peoples (IPs) worldwide in over 90 countries. There are 5000 different groups and daily one hundred fifty thousand people are dying together with their culture. Indigenous cultures are diminishing day by day due to only verbal transmission and colonization. Instead, indigenous people are still alive enjoying and living their own culture. They learn from ritual and cultural activities by looking at their elders' performance.

Statement of the problem

Among the indigenous groups, the Kirat Rai is one of them. They have different world views of education. The Kirat Rai elders educate their children through the cultural demonstration, ritual practice that are connected with the food security, inhabitant, clothing and the irrigation.

This education system is guided by the Mundum. Mundum is their philosophy. What they are here now is due to Mundum. Mundum is the storehouse of the educational knowledge that belongs to humans since origin. This knowledge officially does practice by the *Suptulung*. *Suptulung* and the Mundum are two sides of a coin, meaning mutual interdependence. Hegemony of the formal education the Mundumic education and the educational value of the *Suptulung* is on the verge of extinction. The students who become part of the Mundumic education are having more challenge to adapt to the formal education system. They are confused because the home language, education and the school education are totally different. For this reason, many Mundumic students lose the opportunity to go to school for the formal education.

Objective of the study

This article explores the Mundum worldviews on transmission of indigenous education system including the food security.

Significance of the study

This study focuses on the Mundhumic education system as well as the knowledge transformation system that is needed to improve the inclusive education or equity education. In addition, Mundhumic education system has continued from the primitive time in the form of oral tradition. This educational knowledge may help to enhance the effective classroom teaching learning.

This study provides the relevant information and contents for the policy makers of education in government. This research provides insights to the study which would be useful to formulate the appropriate policy of Mundhumic education to all stakeholders. Furthermore, the study can be used as a reference for other researchers for further study.

Methods

In the process of writing this paper, I used the qualitative research design as Denzin & Lincoln (2000) have focused on the interpretation of subject matter with the multiple way. I followed indigenous research methods during this study (Tuhiwai, 1999). They do justice to indigenous knowledge. I selected the participants by employing purposive sampling (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016). Particularly, I interviewed the three Mundum experts and reviewed the Binayo Movie. I used the in-depth interview. An unstructured interview was conducted because this interview helped the participants to be comfortable and deeply described the story telling method as (Kovach, 2010) conversational method. And I grounded the analysis and interpretation as said Creswell (2003) and (Creswell & Creswell, 2017).

This study is limited to the Mundum experts and the visual document of the Binayo movie. The primary sources are Mundum experts and the secondary sources are written documents.

Finding and discussion

Indigenous worldview of Mundum and Suptulung in education system

Mundum's knowledge is related with the earth system, social system, and interaction with the environment. Moreover, Ajayi and Mafongoya (2017) note that indigenous education derives from the daily activities of people for survival with nature and animal world. Mundhumic education belongs

to the nature and agriculture system. This system might be dynamic, can adapt suitable education system based on ecology and necessity.

Indigenous knowledge and education are dependent on environment and self-governing. Education system exists in Mundum and *Suptulung*. People equally get respect as a teacher or student. There is no hierarchy as in formal education. Knowledge and education are transmitted from one generation to another generation. Some elder people do not want to go the hospital yet. This means that they do not believe in the formal education system. They believe only on the Mundum education in which they believe the *Suptulung* is their place for pilgrimage.

They do not want to let go the *Suptulung* across the sea. Such type of value is still among the Mundumic elder people. This shows that the Mundumic knowledge, education developed by the particular land, environment, and ecology for survival. It is very unique and useful collectively and individually. From elder to children can survive in any geographical area. Mundum education teaches to converse with death, interacts with environment and keeps rational relation with nature. It is related with the spirituality of culture.

Knowledge and education can be transmitted and renewed by cultural demonstration seasonally. Every person can think and use his/her knowledge in livelihood independently. However, to survive globally local indigenous knowledge needs to be preserved as in written form. Many NGOs and INGOs are working and planning to bring out such type of knowledge in curriculum all over the world as well as in Nepal. The international seminar (Caribbean, 2019) expresses indigenous knowledge to be incorporated into the education system and policies that provide the learning opportunity for indigenous people in order to restore social justice.

Additionally, in Latin America socio-political dialogues have taken place for the intermingling and the development of indigenous knowledge as well as linguistics in education system. Diversity of indigenous knowledge brings the beautiful combination in education system. However, the undocumented indigenous knowledge is in crisis as well as Mundum education system. Bhattachan (2008) points out that the general practice restricts the mother tongue education up to grade five for most of the mother tongue community. Rapacha (2013) argues for advocacy of inclusive curriculum and education. The government has recognized only a limited indigenous knowledge that can be incorporated in the mainstream education (Acharya, Jere, and

Robinson-Pant, 2019). These arguments reaffirm that researcher, intellectual people and education organizations are attracted towards the indigenous education system. Moreover, indigenous people also do not want to lose the native cultural education. They are willing to learn them and willing to hand over the education of their own culture for their future generation. They are also worried about their children bearing conflicts in education system between formal vs. informal. Many indigenous students are in depression due to indigenous education system and mainstream education system. Some are in very difficult situation too. They are in confusion. As a result, 90% indigenous students are far from the state's mainstream formal education (Rai, 2020).

Many indigenous children drop out from schools due to their cultural missing link. The act of the teaching learning situation is discriminatory because knowingly unknowingly bad example always come from the indigenous activities or word and good example from the privileged side. Branhardt and Kawagley (2008) express that as a group of American students are not offered educational opportunities, they routinely face deteriorating school facilities, under paid teachers, weak curricula, discriminatory treatment, and out dated learning tools. This situation is pre-existing all over the world on indigenous people. Similar situation applies for the Mundumic people of Nepal.

According to Rana (2018), "Up to primary school the government has fixed the mother tongue education policy; however there lack native teachers and its implementation has remained ineffective for all the indigenous people in the context of Nepal. One of its reasons is that the content of book in mother tongues is translated from Nepali." This experience shows that the education delivery culture also should be changed, but such action is a great challenge.

Indigenous food security, diverse cultural education, renew and knowledge transmission

Indigenous culture is not grown by pre-plan; it is developed by society's daily activities to fulfill the basic requirements of people. Traditional customs, dresses, art morality, behavior, attitude, and the ritual rites are the sources of indigenous knowledge or local knowledge. It serves as the purpose of socio-economic factors, techniques, ideology as a result it reflects the identity of the society (Du Plessis and Raza, 2004). It is a fact that human kind as indigenous people have diverse techniques of food security as well as cultural rites.

Food security system is a kind of culture and this knowledge is perceived through the activities and the cultural rites for continuity. Food is very important for life on earth. In the beginning, the Kirat Rai ancestors had done much struggle for survival in and with the nature. Before the development of science and technology, indigenous people had developed their sense and awareness about food, however they had not succeeded in all cases. Because not all types of food obviously are edible, some are harmful too and nowadays too. We hear news from radio, television, newspapers and social network about eating wild mushrooms and consumers' last breath.

However, today one cannot imagine how they sustain and develop the food security system. In October 16, 1945, Quebec City, Canada had established the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Through this organization awareness has been raised for food security as well as recognized indigenous knowledge. In this sense the Kirat and Kirat Rai people, worshipping in the Mundumic *Suptulung* follow the *Sakela* ritual for food security. They have different ideology for the food security. One of them is to celebrate it twice a year in the *Suptulung* wishing food security. They trust on nature, time and then the calendar date and day.

When crane birds fly towards the mountain, they celebrate *Dhirinam* (Ubhauli). Since the primitive age African people as well as all the world's indigenous people used the indigenous knowledge for food security and the purpose of basic needs of society (Chiwanza, Musingafi and Mupa, 2013). *Dhirinam* (Ubhauli), in the context of food security and the whole society's prosperity, well-being, good environment, sufficient water, good health of all nature, fauna and flora, peace, protect from evil soul, avoid all kind of disease, unwanted things, illness, of the year for the purpose they celebrate is called *Sakela*.

The activities are performed by the *Mangpa/Nakchho/Nachhung/Yadangba* ('priest' can be s/he) and also, he or she can perform *Sakela* but they should be allowed and blessed from the *Mang* (god) through dreams. Gorjestain (2000) notes that indigenous knowledge system used for the local food security as well as human security, animal security and for important decision of the local society. Food security brings prosperity to people.

In a year, they can span their life smoothly. Nature remains in chronological order. The ecological system maintains in the healthy way. During the four days of *Dhirinam*, *Mangpa/Nakchho/Nachhung/Yadangba* and every household's elder people offer to ancestor for food security. It is their main

festival as well. In this festival, they remember the entire ancestor those who get the place in the *Suptulung*. The *Suptulung* is venerated with the local liquors of six months made from the herbal leaf and Bajra. After finishing the *Dhirinam*, they cook the millet-beer for the next six months is called *Chhirinam* (Udhauli). When the crane-birds return down towards the sea then they celebrate *Chhirinam*.

They offer all the new grains in the *Suptulung* before consumption. If they consume the new grains especially new ginger and paddy, they will bear the unwanted things in the whole year. Thus, they are very careful to their children also. This is the system in the Kirat Rai community about their food security. As FAO (2009) cited in LWF Nepal and Right to Food National Network Nepal with support from Thematic Alliance Members (2017), food security exists in “all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food, which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life”. Particularly, the metaphor of *Sakela* is food security. This knowledge transmitted by the activities of culture to their new generation. In the Kirat Rai community, knowledge transmission is performed through the cultural rites verbally from generation to generation.

Dhirinam and *Chhirinam* include in *Sakela* meant for cultural rite of food security. In *Dhirinam* celebration offering of seeds for farming and ask blessing for all-natural entities which remain in between sky and the earth and *Chhirinam* celebration offering the virtual grain at first to their ancestor then can utilize as food. Through this system people are aware somehow about food preservation for the whole year. It means that they should not finish consuming their food before the whole year is over. That is why, they maintain the balanced diet thus avoiding hunger. Insufficient food brings mental and psychological problems for balanced life and challenges to survival. According to Mhache (2018), diverse indigenous people have diverse indigenous knowledge for food security in the world. It is developed by the geography, individual thoughts, and based on needs.

Some groups of indigenous people use sun heat, some other fire near the hearth and some other use open place under the roof, where air can pass easily and gradually. The Kirat Rai community also preserves food differently. They respect the food by celebrating and offering to the *Suptulung*. Souls are allowed to remain in the *Suptulung* in their beliefs and practices after natural death. Such pure souls are called the good souls like god; bad souls cannot reside in the *Suptulung*.

Through Mundum, the *Mangpa/Nakchho/Nachhung/Yadangba* can converse with the soul. Each time the good soul wanders around the household people like a guardian angel. The good souls protect the community members from evil and save from the undesirable happenings. Good souls offer the peace and fortune forever. Such souls provide them sufficient food as well as other things, if they follow the Mundumic rules and regulations. If they do not follow the Mundumic ways of life, they definitely have disaster in their livelihood. The Mundumic knowledge is the reflection of ancestor's life experience, which belongs to particular land, water, plants, trees, rock, fauna and flora, animal, birds and circumstances.

For this reason, indigenous knowledge, affects the food security system although this system in this community is as cultural celebration. Food security means sufficient nutritious food for all urban and rural areas for the future too (Khumbane, 2004). The Kirat Rai community takes more care for the future than the present. Mundum speaks about the future and predicts for tomorrow.

In *Dhirinam*, worshippers ask about future happenings regarding good or bad times, about disease and sufferings to be avoided. They come to know the bountiful types of food crops, fruits' predictions. They celebrate *Sopuiya* on the first day of *Sakela* or *Dhirinam* for talking about sickness or illness during the whole year. *Sopuiya* means all sickness and bad fortune are put into the water thus washed away through the water. After four days' celebration of *Dhirinam*, they do *silli* (dance) in the house-yard of people.

All the relatives and guests also go to every household. Daughters and brother-in-laws are main guests of every household. Anyhow, married daughters in this celebration should participate in maternal house. At the end of the celebration, they ask the blessings and the *chari* (*Unnako saha* 'bountifulness of crops') by dancing *silli* with *Mangpa/Nakchho/Nachhung/Yadangba* and other elder people around of *Suptulung* with the indigenous instrument *Jhyamta/Chamakhi/Pulu/Har* and the *Jhyamta/Chamakhi/Pulu/Har* (drum and cymbal). The *Mangpa/Nakchho/Nachhung/Yadangba* explains all information what has been given by ancestors or good souls and people follow the same rule throughout the year. According the given rule, it will be less bountiful; lifestyle system breaks down and should bear the whole year painfully. Food security implies that every time nutritious food available and help to keep it healthy lifestyle (Food, 2003). Diverse indigenous groups have diverse food security system means much beneficial. Different ideas can help us survive according to geography as well as climatic situations.

Indigenous agricultural system as education

One of the primitive races of Nepal is the Kirat Rai people, who belong to indigenous groups guided by the Mundum and *Suptulung*. According to the census of 2011, the total number of Kirat Rai people is 620,004 (CBS, 2011). Some representative characteristics of characters as an example in *Binayo* movie are described here based on internal migration and differences of geographical situations.

The Kirat and Kirat Rai people suppose the farming system systematically developed by Raichhakule—a male character in the movie. He was an orphan and he does not have enough food. During this time, he hunted a bird and found some millet and paddy into the gizzard of a dove. He thought to sow the grain not to be harmful while doing so. Raichhakule thus sows the grain in the field. Since then, farming started systematically. Such type of myth is still narrated to the new generation in the community but his representative name is varying more than fifteen in different linguistic groups. Similar type of stories and myths exist in every indigenous group. However, nowadays these stories and myths are vanishing gradually. The *Binayo* Movie works to reconnect that knowledge. With this film many cultural education, knowledge, and beliefs have been revived.

In my experience and discourse of *Binayo* movie in the society, many audiences about 97% have learned the value of Mundum as well *Suptulung* in the Kirat and Kirat Rai community. Among such audiences 65% have repeatedly watched the movie and remember the myth or story to share to their sons and daughters. Storytelling and songs are one of the mediums of knowledge transmission to their future generation. Mezirow (1996, p.162) as cited in (Taylor, 2017) “learning is understood as the process of using a prior interpretation to construct a new or a revised interpretation of the meaning of one's experience in order to guide future action.” This story is already famous in the Kirat society but the ways of interpretation are different. The movie *Binayo* has constructed a consistent story based on all varieties of the same story.

The movie has portrayed indigenous knowledge about the Kirat Rai community and their rituals. The detail activities associated are shown in the movie. The movie has well documented the Kirat Rai community and their traditions. This movie has included the diversity of languages and their perspective. The characters of the movie are the same as the Kirat people claim it to be. This movie raises awareness about the endangered

tradition and culture of the Kirat people. The emotional connections of the siblings are also shown in the movie. Despite the separation at a young age, they come together as one family in the end and live together sharing all the memories.

The film seems to be the beginning of agricultural age and other traditional natural aspects, having important message about the tradition of having a *Suptulung* to the people watching the movie in far off lands and the importance of conducting all the activities in the *Suptulung*. This film has a role of educating cultural knowledge to the teenagers and how they should do to continue the tradition from endangerment as the Kirat people are comparatively meagre in population. To those Kirat people, who do not follow the Mundum, it also raises awareness that lets them know the cultural practices of their community as it is necessary for all Kirat people to know about their own Mundum religion.

Conclusion

Culture is one of the most important factors to develop a just society and quality education. In the absence of cultural value, people cannot develop knowledge. Thus, responsible citizens and organizations must reorganize the significance of indigenous cultural values. Education has been the base of every developmental effort worldwide. Along with educational factor, indigenous knowledge is also an important factor of education. Mundum has independent worldview. From human perspective, Mundum guides them and *Suptulung* is their center of pilgrim or holy place. Without the *Suptulung*, the Mundum cannot perform or they cannot conduct any ritual rites. Thus, the *Suptulung* is precious for the Mundum and the Kirat Rai people. Knowledge and education whether visible or invisible have power transmitted from the *Suptulung*. It makes them stable and independent. *Suptulung* protects them from disaster and evil eyes providing them prosperity or abundance according to Mundum. Thus, at the first place they provide a parity of cultural values then education. From such culture, they learn whatever they need for livelihood, e.g., food security. Every household's special women give the parity of food security, which means well-being of everything throughout the whole year.

This education helps students and scholars gain knowledge about different cultures and their tradition. The Kirat Rai cultures also have interesting and unique ideas about human evolution, sociology, civilization and knowledge. The population of the Kirat community is comparatively lesser than other

religions. The movie *Binayo* has focused and portrayed the Kirat culture and traditions uniquely. It has also given educational values to the viewers and also has played an important role to raise awareness. The movie is an interesting documentary that the viewers can enjoy with being informed alongside the story in the movie, which focuses on the basic components of the Kirat community. Nonetheless, indigenous culture is vanishing day by day due to verbal transmission only and global colonization. It is the responsibility of the new generation to keep up with the traditions of the indigenous knowledge, skills and religions. In addition, this is only possible by educating teenagers and rewarding scholars through fellowships since Kiratism is also an indigenous religion.

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Influence of Smriti Texts to Women Leadership Development in Cooperatives

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Abstract

The patriarchy under Hindu tradition has been an issue of shaping role of female in present society. Their role in the family and in the society has been taken as supportive on financial mobilization rather in leading position as compared to men. Financial mobilization through cooperatives has been accepted as a key component for economic development of Nepalese community. It may be the appropriate way of increasing income, generating employment opportunities and eradicating poverty. This study has aimed at analysing the relationship of female leadership within the circumstances of Hindu tradition, cooperative movement, and analyzed the effect of intervention factors of financial mobilization. This article has been prepared after the analytical review of Hindu ancient literatures and present policies, social customs and traditions. Information was analyzed and impact of the variables on female leadership was assessed. The result has demonstrated that the Hindu tradition has an average positive influence on financial mobilization, while investment opportunities and intervening variables have a strong positive influence on empowering women leadership in cooperatives. The Smriti texts including Manu Smriti texts were the factors that hindered the Nepalese women to take part the leadership role in their family and the community.

Keywords : women's leadership, role effectiveness, social inclusion, SDG, financial mobilization, transformational leadership

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Introduction

Nepalese society has been descended from and guided by ancient Hindu traditions. The Hindu tradition has been an influential environment for women's lead role to be played even in present context (Afful, 2002). It has been an issue of making setbacks to Nepalese Hindu women from historic times. There has been quite growing interest in the ethical behavior of women's leadership. Initially, leadership in finance sector was considered as an act of altruism in welfare society. This was a selfless concern for the benefit of others. In the modern day, it has been the manifestation of the notion of inclusive empowerment to good causes. From a concern, initially focused on financial issues has now taken to more recent inclusion of other social issues such as human rights. But not clear precisely how widely society is defined in terms of the size of the community to which the organisation is or should be responsible. Cooperative members may be broadly or narrowly conceived. Cooperative participation seems to be mainly restricted to an involvement in local community or within the firm itself as opposed to a concern for women empowerment in global context (Nelson & Thomsen, 2010). The Hindu Smriti texts including Manu Smriti have a negative influence on the female role. It has been necessary to analyze from the perspective of present day female leadership in cooperatives under the consequences of the tradition and role of female in financial management. This paper has pointed out the influence of Smriti texts to women leadership development in cooperatives.

Objectives

The main objective of this study is to analyze the influence of Smriti texts on the role effectiveness of women leadership in cooperatives. The specific objectives are:

1. To explore the status of women leadership for financial management within the frame of cooperative society in the context of Manu Smriti and other relevant Smriti texts of Hindu traditions of Nepal and
2. To analyze the performance of women under Manu Smriti and other relevant Smriti texts of Hindu tradition and present practice in their leadership to manage cooperative sector.

Literature review

Some research works made by previous researchers have been reviewed in the study to develop some theoretical background and conceptual framework. The 'Smriti' era (600-200) BC and thereafter the religious and cultural practices have determined female with the supportive role in the family concerning financial mobilization. The author concentrated on the provisions earliest to late Smriti phases of Hindu tradition (Smriti corpus) including the six Vedangas (grammar, meter, phonetics, etymology, astronomy and rituals), the Itihasa (literally means 'so indeed it was'), epics (the Mahabharata and Ramayana) and the texts on the four proper goals or aims of human life:

Dharma: These texts discuss dharma from various religious, social duties, morals and personal ethical perspective. Each of six major schools of Hinduism has its own literature on dharma. Examples include Dharma-sutras including by Gautama, Apastamba, Baudhayana and Vashistha) and Dharma-sastra particularly Manusmriti, Yajnavalkya Smriti, Naradasmriti and Visnismriti. At personal dharma level, this includes many chapters of Yogasutras.

Artha: Artha-related texts discuss artha from individual, social and as a compendium of economic policies, politics and laws as the Arthashastra of Chanakya, the Kamandakiya Nitisara, Brihaspati Sutra, and Sukra Niti. Olivelle (2013) states that most Artha-related treatises from ancient Nepal have been lost.

Kaama: These discuss arts, emotions, love, erotics, relationships and other sciences in the pursuit of pleasure. The Kamasutra of Vatsyayana is most well known. Others texts include Ratirahasya, Jayamangala, Smaradipika, Ratimanjari, Ratiratnapradipika, Ananga Ranga among others.

Moksha: These develop and debate the nature and process of liberation, freedom and spiritual release. Major treatises on the pursuit of moksha include the later Upanishads (early Upanishads are considered Shruti literature), Viveka-chudamani, and the sastras on Yoga. Similarly, the Puranas (literally, of old), the Kavya or poetical literature, the extensive Bhasyas (reviews and commentaries on Shrutis and non-Shruti texts), the sutras and shastras of the various schools of Hindu philosophy and the numerous Nibandhas

(digests) covering politics, medicine (Charaka Samhita), ethics (Nitisastras), culture, arts and society (Lochtefeld, 2002).

Around 2000 years before, classical Hinduism, or present day Hindu tradition started crystallizing. Worship of the supreme being through icons and sacred symbols was started and different religious cults developed out of which the Shakta tradition specifically worships the divine as the mother of the universe. Women were accorded the status of goddess in textual Hinduism. Like other religions, Hinduism is not limited to a set of beliefs or propositional truths or practices. In practice, Hinduism can not credit itself of being fair to its women. Injunction is with the Smritis. These Smritis often reveal some teachings that are derogatory to women in various ways. However, the real position of women in the Hindu society has been better than what is ordained by these texts, and vice versa as well most of the time (Narayanan, 1999). From this point of departure, it has been a matter of discussion that the Smriti texts including Manu Smriti have been a long time setback for coming out as a leading role in the family and in the society focusing on financial management rather than having a supportive role.

Four components need to be present for a cooperative management. It is socially responsible affair. These are economic, legal, ethical, and philanthropic responsibilities. The women leadership has been increased across the globalised world. It makes sound relationship with society. It has goals to extend the activities of the organizations. It encourages positive environment and inclusive participation in society, states and other socioeconomic realms. Most cooperative societies have applied leadership development and women's empowerment concept in own activities. The increase in the demand for financial services has brought changes in their participation for financial mobilization in cooperatives. It has been an important topic in financial, economic and social science disciplines. Similarly, local and international organisations have continued to explore the best modalities regarding the application of cooperative concept to almost every area of the economic needs of individuals at urban and rural areas. This may have necessitated the declaration of the year 2005 as the international year of microcredit and the year 2012 as the international year of cooperatives by the United Nations' General assembly (ILO, 2009).

Cooperative is regarded as a social business organization which is operated by the group of people for their mutual benefits. It is a kind of teamwork which enhances interpersonal skills of members to work in group as a member of cooperative. It has been world widely proven that team work is the key to success. Cooperative models are being applied not only in Nepal, even the developed countries of the world have succeeded in their goal achieving tasks applying the same model of cooperative. The concept of cooperative was practically implemented in Nepal since 1963. During the preliminary phase of cooperative, very few people had taken initiation to be duly involved in this field. Within the span of 52 years, 32,663 cooperatives have already been incorporated and have been successfully running their activities in society in which 5.1 million people are actively involved as individual members. Amongst the active members, 267,722 are enlisted as directors where 91,196 are women leading the cooperative organizations (DoC, 2017).

Method

Various relevant literatures were analyzed as a part of designing this research, and getting in-depth knowledge about the subject of study (Kothari, 2004). The office records of cooperatives such as Operational Plans, Users' Constitutions, Minute books, reports such as district profiles, bulletins etc, records of Department of Cooperatives such as audit related files, monitoring and evaluation records, databases, were also the sources of information. Various literatures on lead role of women in Hindu tradition, leadership role effectiveness in financial mobilization and cooperative society management including journal published by cooperative society and federations, annual report published by Department of Cooperatives and Survey, various women leadership related strategies, Cooperative Act 2011, Cooperative Regulation 2012, Cooperative Guidelines 2013 and Policy 2014 were analyzed for the study.

Results and findings

The study has been conducted focusing on women leadership in traditional financial mobilization focusing on the practices of profit making cooperative houses. Rare researches are available on the women leadership and its effectiveness in cooperative organizations in Nepalese context. Conflicting and controversial results have been produced

in different geographical locations about the impact of women led cooperative management.

According to Central Bureau of Statistics 2011, female population is about 51% of the total population in Nepal. They need a leadership position. Some cooperatives with women leaders are successful in running organizations. There might be possibility to identify and starting of good practice. The study may provide insight to improve social harmony and inclusion.

The government has adopted flexible cooperative friendly policy of public private partnerships in different modalities and they need to be assessed for proper guidance. There is confusion of using cooperatives as cooperative organization or social organization for the community welfare and needs concrete policy for the socio economic promotion of the women. Success and failure of women's leadership in cooperative management demand research to explore what works and what not. The present study may have substantial importance for the following sector:

1. This study may contribute for the baseline information about traditional practice of women's leadership on financial mobilization and cooperative management in different sectors including saving credit, agricultural, health and education cooperatives as well as multipurpose cooperatives in Nepal.
2. This study may be helpful for educational planner, policy maker and social science specialists.
3. In the same way, government agencies, NGOs and INGOs may have an input to plan and execute the program to be addressed to uplift women's leadership on cooperative management.
4. This study may be useful to researchers, university teachers and students.

The study may bring insightful analysis of women's participation in the financial management of cooperatives and its impact on the women's leadership promotion and sustainability measure to the management of resources. It also brings significant results for making long term cooperative sector policy in relation to equitable benefits sharing among the cooperative members, particularly for the disadvantaged sector of the society focusing on women leadership. The research result also can be crucial for students,

researchers, and policy makers to make decision bringing poor and disadvantaged people with the scope of policy frame.

Position of women in Hindu literature

Manusmriti, Ramayana, Mahabharata, Upanishads, and Geeta are important parts of Hindu Literature. Manusmriti, known as Manav Dharam Shastra, is the earliest work on Brahminical Dharma in Hinduism. According to Hindu mythology, the Manusmriti is the word of Brahma, and it is classified as the most authoritative statement on Dharma. The scripture consists of 2,690 verses, divided into 12 chapters. Hindu consider the Manusmriti as the divine code of conduct and, accordingly, the status of women as depicted in the text has been interpreted as Hindu divine law. In Vedic era, birth of a male was regarded a source of women empowerment and Hindu Literatures prioritize it than the birth of a female child. For instance, in Rig Veda, there is a prayer for the birth of a son. In Brahmnas, the birth of son was greatly favoured. The Atharva Veda clearly mentions the unpleasantness at the birth of girl as it was prayed to God that kindly grant birth of boy here and grants the birth of girl somewhere else. Manu did not treat women at par with men. Manu was the father of Hindu religion. He made the condition of women miserable and pathetic. He formulated and implemented various laws which made condition of women miserable. He wrote book Manusmriti containing the laws for the oppression of women and shudras. But even today the laws of Manusmriti are being followed strictly. Some of the 'celebrated' derogatory comments about women in the Manusmriti are as:

1. It is the nature of women to seduce men in this world; for that reason, the wise are never unguarded in the company of females (2: 213).
2. Women, true to their class character, are capable of leading astray men in this world, not only a fool but even a learned and wise man. Both become slaves of desire (2: 214).
3. Wise men should not marry women who do not have a brother and whose parents are not socially well known (3:10).
4. A Brahman, true defender of his class, should not have his meals in the company of his wife and even avoid looking at her. Furthermore, he should not look towards her when she is having her meals or when she sneezes/yawns (4: 43).

5. A Brahman in order to preserve his energy and intellect, must not look at women who applies collyrium to her eyes, one who is massaging her nude body or one who is delivering a child (4:44).
6. A female child, young woman or old woman is not supposed to work independently even at her place of residence (5:150).
7. Girls are supposed to be in the custody of their father when they are children, women must be under the custody of their husband when married and under the custody of her son as widows. In no circumstances is she allowed to assert herself independently (5:151).
8. Men may be lacking virtue, be sexual perverts, immoral and devoid of any good qualities, and yet women must constantly worship and serve their husbands (5:157).
9. Women have no divine right to perform any religious ritual, nor make vows or observe a fast. Her only duty is to obey and please her husband and she will for that reason alone be exalted in heaven (5:158).
10. Any women violating duty and code of conduct towards her husband, are disgraced and becomes a patient of leprosy. After death, she enters womb of Jackal (5:167).
11. Since women are not capable of living independently, she is to be kept under the custody of her father as child, under her husband as a woman and under her son as widow (9:3).
12. It is the duty of all husbands to exert total control over their wives. Even physically weak husbands must strive to control their wives (9: 6).
13. Consuming liquor, association with wicked persons, separation from her husband, rambling around, sleeping for unreasonable hours and dwelling- are six demerits of women (9: 13).
14. While performing Vedic mantras are not to be recited by women, because women are lacking in strength and knowledge of Vedic texts. Women are impure and represent falsehood (9: 18).
15. In case of any problem in performing religious rites, males between the age of 24 and 30 should marry a female between the age of 8 and 12 (9: 93).

16. God Indra said "Women cannot be educated because they are always stupid" (Rigveda, 8:33 and 17).
17. Friendship cannot be made with women because their hearts are like the hearts of leopards (Rigveda, 10: 95 and 15).
18. Women, Shudras, Dogs and Crows are big liars (Yajurveda, 6/5/8/2)
19. Women give sorrows (Atharvaveda, 7: 3 and 11)
20. A father should arrange marriage of his daughter before she gets the age of 12 years. If father does not follow this rule he is a great sinner. This supports child marriage (Prashar Smriti).

Though the present constitutional provisions, existing rules and regulations have denied the disparities of female, the discriminatory verses are still popular and believed by the people as a part of culture. It may take time to remove these barriers in successive generations by leadership practices including cooperative leadership.

Role of female under Smriti

During 500 BC to 500 AD, the position of women further deteriorated. In the history of Nepal, these dark and depressing days of total injustice, intolerance and inequality were the darkest spot forever. There were varied and many reasons for the deterioration or fall in the position of women. The only good thing that developed during this period was the recognition of certain proprietary rights for women. It is Manu's code that has had the most negative impact on Nepali Women for countless succeeding generations. Even today, it is his laws which keep millions helpless in the prison of Hindu orthodoxy. Manu for the first time legally assigned woman to her definite place in the scale of society. But his laws reflect a conflict between his valuation of woman as a spiritual entity on the one side and as a unit in society on the other. He averred that a mother is more to be revered than a thousand fathers, yet his laws place women socially on a level with the lowest of all groups in Aryan society, the Sudra. Manu enumerates many laws directing a wife's conduct. He says that a wife must show to such devotion to her husband that he must be treated like God, even when he is conspicuously lacking any virtue whereas no sacrifice, no vow, and no fast must be performed by their husbands for the wives. If a wife obeys her husband, she will for that (reason) be exalted in heaven. In childhood, a female must be subject to protection by her father, in youth by

her husband. When her spouse is dead she is supposed to be protected by her sons. A woman must never be independent. The laws of Manu state that women were created to be mothers and that they may perform religious rites along with their husbands. Yet there are some passages which deny to women the privilege of offering sacrifices. In the period of later Smritis women were deprived of any right to justice, freedom, education, equality and were degraded domestically, socially, legally, economically, politically and in every other way. They came to be called Abala (the powerless) or Griha pinjara kokila (Cuckoo of the cage of the house) and subject to the most derogatory maxim; Putrārtha Kriyate Bhārya (women has to be taken in marriage for procreation only).

Stridhan according to the Smritikars

Manu: According to a text of Manu, there can be no property belonging to woman, Son or a slave and whatever property is earned by them, belongs to that person to whom the woman or slave belongs. It does not mean that they cannot own any property rather it means that they cannot alienate the property. Manu's view has also been supported by Gautam. He observed that a woman can own separate property but she cannot alienate the same. According to Manu Adhyagni (whatever has been given at the time of nuptial fire), Adhyavahanika (whatever has been given at the time of departure of wife), Dattamprīte karmani (given out of love and affection) and given by the father, mother or the brother, all these are six types of gifts which come under the term Stridhan. According to Vishnu, anything given to a woman by her father, mother, sons and brothers or whatever is received by her at nuptial fire, or whatever she receives from her husband at remarriage, or what she receives from her relatives and the gifts received by her after marriage is stridhan. According to Yagyavalkya, to the above list enumerated by Manu and Vishnu, the word 'adi' etc. has been added by Yajñavalkya. Vijñāneshwara, a commentator of Yajñavalkya Smṛiti, has enlarged the list of properties coming under stridhan due to the use of this word 'adi'. He includes in the list all such properties acquired through gift, sale, partition or other lawful means. Katyāyana too while enumerating six kinds of stridhan, identified two more things, under it earning through art and gifts received during unmarried state and those gifts received when the bride went to bride's home as also those which were received by her during her widowhood. According to him, father, husband, son or brother do not have a right to use or alienate the property falling under stridhan of a woman. Any body who uses the property without woman's consent is liable

to return it with interest and will also have to pay fine to the king. In case of distress of husband or when he suffers from any disease or is being tortured by the creditors, the woman can herself voluntarily contribute out of the stridhan but the husband should reimburse her later on. Other Smritikars like Apastamba, Vyas and Deval too have discussed the stridhan on the similar lines. Upon composite study of the views of these Smritikars on stridhan, Adhyagni, Adhyavahanik, Pritidatt and gifts given by the father, brother or mother or relatives in shape of money, Adhivednik, Shulk, or Anivadheya can be referred to as stridhan.

Early encounter of women with modernity

Hindu women's early encounters with modernity occurred in the context of the British colonization in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through what are known as Hindu Reform Movements. These reform movements, which developed largely in response to the British colonial presence and engagement with Christianity, focused a great deal on the issues of women. Two features of these early movements are worth noting. First, in spite of being strongly patriotic, the leaders of these movements were able to work collaboratively with Westerners (chiefly, British officials) in introducing landmark reforms that had positive implications for women's lives. Second, even though arguing passionately for reforms within Hindu society, the leaders generally supported their arguments drawing attention to passages from ancient texts, which they re-interpreted in the light of modernity. The legal movement abolishing the practice of Sati, which was carried out till 1918, is considered a landmark in the history of modern Nepal. Further, referring to ancient mystical texts, the Upanishads, which recommend eternal liberation of the soul rather than temporary residence in heaven, Roy suggested that since sati only ensures the latter, it is not a spiritual practice of great merit. Mahatma Gandhi advocated looking at the smritis (Hindu sacred texts and code books) in light of the principle of non-violence, which in his view, included equal rights for women. He suggested that all that was repugnant to the moral sense in these texts, should not be viewed as divinely inspired. He also referred to Hindu woman saint princess Mira as a model of bravery to support women's participation in public life. A large number of women joined the freedom movement and social reform work led by Gandhi. Like early reform movements, the re-interpretive lens of Gandhian movement also privileged the religious concepts of the elite rather than popular practices of Hindu women.

Analysis of the information

Despite belated start of more proactive, systematic and government-supported cooperative initiatives, the first pioneers in the field of women leadership emerged relatively soon after the restoration of democracy in 1991. Civic organizations, which faced many obstacles and little support, have developed in many cases particularly due to various international resources. Tradition also played an important positive role, however, faster dissemination of women's involvement in cooperatives and cooperative management as one of its part was hampered by expectations of some male dominant organizations and entrepreneurs that the state was there to take care of these activities (Bartosova, 2006).

Even though women's empowerment on financial mobilization and debate about it was not in Nepal as popular as in older western democracies, women's leadership role effectiveness has steadily becoming more and more popular and also a group of involved cooperatives has been growing. Today many cooperatives, particularly the large ones, present their achievements in women's empowerment and other related documents as well as on pages of organizations promoting women's leadership role. Increasing interest in financial mobilization in Hindu tradition, in 2004 in the survey 76 % of surveyed cooperatives claimed to be involved at least in some women's lead roles (the most frequently towards share members); in 2007 it was almost 90 %. Women's awareness has also been increasing.

Theoretical perspectives

The different aspects of the theory starting with the conceptualisation of individual has been considered for decision-making by actors and followed by an elaboration on belief systems and decision-making. The concept of organizational development stresses the growth of the individual as one of its major objectives. It would be obvious to illustrate that an individual manager should be an expert in all roles, and should have some background and general knowledge in all of the areas and expertise in a number of specific areas, depending upon the nature and requirements of the job.

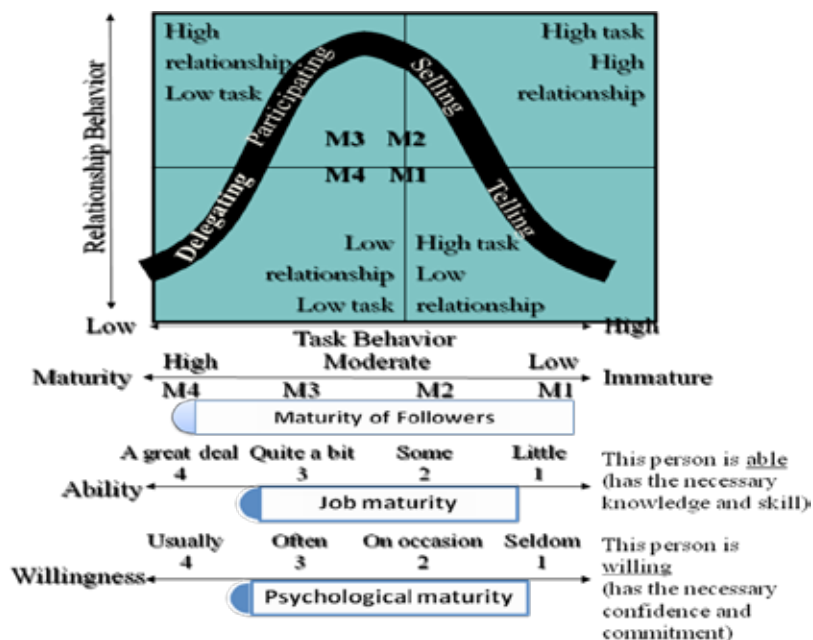
Afful (2002) has emphasized that from the organizational development perspective, the manager should play the roles to act as communicator, integrator, planner and decision maker, organizational designer, innovator, problem solver, coach and counselor, teacher and learner, advocate and as a model of style. These roles have been given with equal emphasis and all

these roles are required for the top level as well as the middle managers. There is no evidence mentioned whether these roles are the key success factors of successful managers to lead an organization. The major and minor roles are differentiated among them. Still there exists a question that which roles play the most in leading and managing the organization, and whether their extent differs from organization to organization, time to time, place to place and context to context.

Leadership roles

Hersey and Blanchard (2002) have claimed that there are two aspects of situational team leadership roles under task and relationship behaviors. In each leadership style, helping roles as well as hindering roles have been mentioned. Figure 1 illustrates the comprehensive version of the situational leadership model.

Figure 1: Comprehensive version of the situational leadership model



Shown in the figure 1 is a situational leadership curve that brings together the discussion for diagnosing the level of readiness, adapting the high probability leadership styles, and communicating these styles effectively to influence behavior. Implicit in situational leadership is the idea that a

leader should help followers grow in readiness as far as they are able and willing to go (Rijal, 2004).

Situational leadership contends that strong direction (task behavior) with followers with low readiness is appropriate if they are to become productive. Similarly, it suggests that an increase in readiness on the part of people who are somewhat unready should be rewarded by increased positive reinforcement and socio-emotional support (relationship behavior). As followers reach high levels of readiness, the leader should respond not only by continuing to decrease control over their activities but also by continuing to decrease relationship behavior (Hersey & Blanchard, 2002).

Hindu traditional texts and financial management policies

The study is also interested in the institutional factors which influence women's leadership role to involve in financial mobilization under Hindu tradition in the past and present in cooperative sector. The institutional factors influencing the preference for policy instruments, especially with respect to women's role, will be also identified and elaborated. A basic assumption of the study is that different institutional Hindu traditional-economic contexts influence implementation and diffusion of women's role effectiveness in the cooperative sector, but also with respect to preferences for policy instruments on the macro layer. In other words, the institutional setup of a constituency might influence the implementation likelihood of macro-policy instruments associated with women's leadership in financial mobilization such as self- and co-regulation schemes.

Lochtefeld (2002) introduced a promising approach to institutional factors and their influence on policy-making and implementation the 'goodness of fit' of policies and institutional structures. They argue that central (core) institutional traditions of a constituency are difficult to change and if the misfit with a certain policy or policy instrument is too big than institutional (systemic resistance is the consequence. The central institutional elements in their study are the level of trust within a society, distribution of resources, political culture and tradition with respect to policy making, constitutional structure, fundamental socio-cultural values, and the reform capacity of a constituency. According to the theory, if these institutional elements are confronted with exceedingly high demands for adaptation or change by a policy or policy instrument then resistance may be the result. However, policy misfit does not necessarily lead to implementation failure.

DeCenzo and Robbins (2003) argues that domestic actors are able to exert enough pressure on institutions to change or adjust to the new requirements. It has to be stressed at this point that the aim of the study on women's leadership is not to test the theory of Lochtefeld but to use their insights on intuitional settings influencing policy-making.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) together with goodness of fit theory form a solid basis for identifying the core institutional variables (level of trust within a society, political culture and tradition with respect to policy-making, and the constitutional structure) of importance with respect to women empowerment and policy-making. It is assumed that these institutional factors considerably influence the level of impact the modern concept of women's leadership can have on interactions between business and public authorities. Institutional theory argues that the scope of policy change is constrained by the existing institutional arrangements, the institutions' roots and routes (Drucker, 1998).

From the industrial revolution to recent years, social objectives have been almost entirely the responsibility of government. Social and cultural movements, activities of non-profit organizations and pressure groups led to the mobilisation of public opinion demanding from corporations to demonstrate a socially responsible stance towards inclusion. Since the earlier twentieth century, countries all around the globe has developed legislations to control the relationship between employee and the cooperative, health and safety at work, issues of environmental interest, discrimination and equal opportunities at workplace.

A question of interest therefore is, whether government should assist business to exceed its legal obligations and hence commit itself to socially responsible behaviour. Interestingly, government might play a role to encourage and promote the social responsibility of business. Researchers from the World Bank have identified four principal public sector roles in relation to women's leadership that are mandating, facilitating, partnering and endorsing roles. Four principal public sector roles in strengthening women's empowerment are the following:

Mandating role: In their mandating role, governments at different levels define minimum standards for business performance embedded within the legal framework. Examples include establishment of emission limit values for particular categories of industrial installations, or requirements for cooperative directors to take particular factors into account in their decision-

making. Even mandating activity can drive industrial innovation and best practice. For example, the familiar notions that cooperatives should apply the best available techniques, best available technology, or the best practicable environmental option to manage emissions allow for the fact that what is best will change over time with technological innovation and technology transfer.

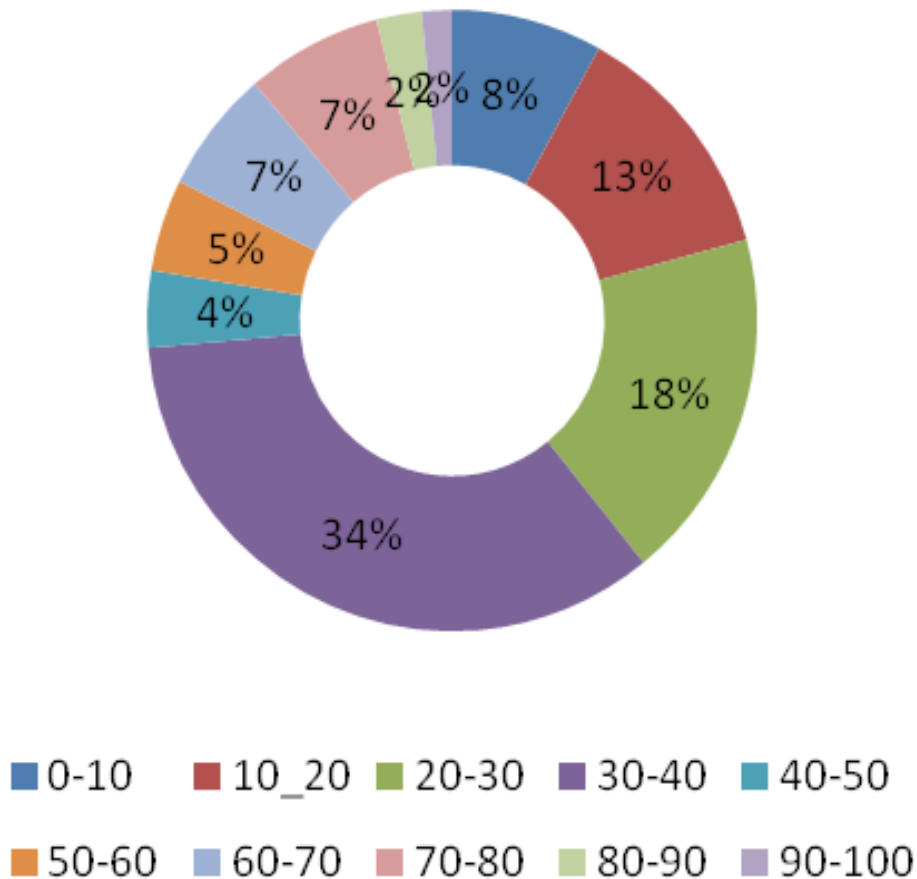
Facilitating role: Setting clear overall policy frameworks and positions to guide business investment in women's empowerment, development of nonbinding guidance and labels or codes for application in the marketplace, laws and regulations that facilitate and provide incentives for business investment in women's empowerment by mandating transparency or disclosure on various issues, tax incentives, investment in awareness raising and research, and facilitating processes of stakeholder dialogue.

Partnering role: Combining public resources with those of business and other actors to leverage complementary skills and resources to tackle issues within the women empowerment agenda, whether they are participants, convenors, or catalysts.

Endorsing role: Showing public political support for particular kinds of women's leadership practice in the marketplace or for individual cooperatives; endorsing specific award schemes or non-governmental metrics, indicators, guidelines, and standards; and leading by example, such as through public procurement practices (Olivelle, 2013).

Almost 75 percent of survey respondents stated that among the co-operatives with which they are most familiar, women comprise less than 50 percent of the co-operative board. A quarter of those same respondents reported that women occupy less than 10 percent of the board. About 65 percent of respondents estimated that women occupy less than 50 percent of management positions. A quarter of all respondents estimated that women hold 10 percent or less of managerial positions. Despite the scarcity of women in leadership roles, over half of all survey respondents stated that women comprise over 50 percent of membership and over 50 percent of the clientele. As these figures suggest, women are among the most involved in and served by co-operative organizations, but among the least likely to hold high-ranking and decision-making roles. If co-operatives are truly to be guided by representative leaders and provide opportunities for women to develop their leadership capacities, more work must be done to improve the promotion of women from membership to governance and management levels.

Figure 2: Percentage of Women in Cooperative Leadership



Source: DoC, Status Report, 2017

Consumer co-operatives facilitate broader and larger membership because they offer services related to daily occupational activities, such as food shopping. These activities are traditionally undertaken by women, which may help to explain women's higher participation in consumer co-operatives. Finance and agriculture, on the other hand, are historically male-dominated economic sectors. This imbalance helps to explain women's low representation in co-operatives in this sector, particularly at the leadership level. However, agriculture has been increasingly feminized; women have a substantial presence as labourers and in self-employment. In theory, women's engagement in agricultural co-operatives should be on the rise. Going forward, more work and research

must be done to understand the ways in which gender equality can be achieved within these important sectors. To address the shortage of women in leadership roles, interviewees recommend that management reach out to women members to encourage their involvement and gender equality orientation. In addition, training should be extended to the current leadership of co-operatives. Interviewees also recommended that co-operative management create supportive mechanisms, such as on-site child care services, which would enable women to participate in delegate structures while balancing other commitments that would otherwise limit their participation (Simkhada, 2004).

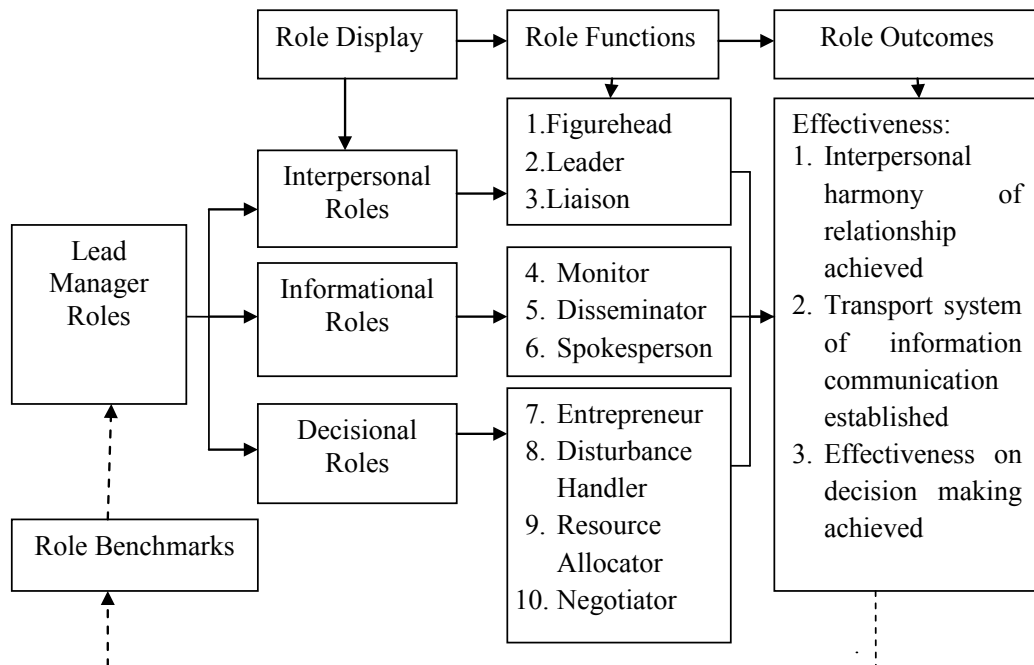
The theoretical debates and the political discussions around the notion of government's role in women's empowerment suggest that there are two prevailing perspectives of women leadership which consequently facilitate the development of two competing women leadership models. As leadership is the heart of any organization to operate their activities as blood circulation into the body, organizations without good leadership can not flourish properly. In the context of cooperative leadership, the leadership being offered by women is seen no less effective in comparison with male. As people are saying that women have crucial role to develop the nation long. Similarly, in cooperative sector there would be the important of women leadership empowerment. To impose women involvement in cooperative women leadership should handle the organization by showing their management skill in field. Recently, Nepalese cooperatives have started to practise women's leadership position. Some cooperatives seem to involve for their own prosperity of their women member rather than the community members. But because of different defficiencies, this concept has not yet been widely accepted in Nepal.

Woment leadership framework in cooperatives

The women leadership framework constructed based on the analysis of the information, describes the phenomenon used for the study. Knowledge and practice might depend on different independent variables (previous experience, behavior change communication program, information communication technology, age, educational status, ethnicity, occupation and religions). If all these variables affect positively, it increases the knowledge and practice regarding optimum use of cooperative services, and sustainability of women's leadership within the philosophy of social security.

This result is the improvement of women's leadership empowerment in cooperative sector in the community. If the cooperative members decided to manage the effective role of women's leadership, it would help to reduce the poverty consequences and social inclusion may be ensured and promotion of gender equality can be uplifted.

Figure 3: Women Leadership Framework in Cooperatives



The figure 3 shows that the relationship with socio-demographic variables, knowledge, practice and attitude, the delay factors contributing to reduce or increase the role effectiveness of women leadership and improvement of inclusion under present Hindu tradition. The practice on women's leadership on financial mobilization as well as inclusion and participation of different stakeholders including poor and disadvantaged people may contribute the effective management of the inclusive participation within cooperative management. The knowledge, practice and attitude are assessed and reflection from the data demonstrates the impact that may lead to improvement of women's leadership under Hindu tradition.

Conclusion

Nepalese Hindu traditions show the significant potential as women's effective role for financial mobilization in the family. This is true for all regions of Nepal, including the Hills, Mountains and Terai region. Nepalese cooperative society is almost entirely financed via member savings and equity. The rate of interest earned on loans is a key factor affecting profitability. Nepalese Hindu society incurs low administration costs and generate significant member saving even in poor, remote communities. In light of these findings, the government should adopt moral and resource support strategies that build on women's ability to mobilize savings. The government and donors should give attention to microfinance institution building and should not provide concessionary funding. While cooperatives may sacrifice short term growth and outreach to achieve financial sustainability, they serve thousands of poor households in remote areas and provide a variety of microfinance services for the long term. The study noted embezzlement of funds for some of successful women leaders. Moreover, failure to comply with the guidelines and regulations by family members, and management when issuing loans contributed to loans default risk. This study recommends that exclusion should not be entertained in family business. Female involvement should also be made sure that they abide by their regulations.

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‘दोषी चस्मा’ कथामा असामान्य मनोविश्लेषण

डा. भरतकुमार भट्टराई*

सार

यस लेखमा नेपाली साहित्यका अति चर्चित आख्यानकार विश्वेश्वरप्रसाद कोइरालाको ज्यादै लोकप्रिय कथा ‘दोषी चस्मा’ को मनोवैज्ञानिक पक्षको विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । कथाको विश्लेषणको आधार फ्रायडीय मनोविश्लेषण सिद्धान्तको विधिलाई बनाइएको छ । यसमा कथाकारको परिचय र कथागत प्रवृत्ति उल्लेख गर्दै कथाभित्रको मनोविश्लेषणात्मक पक्षलाई केलाइएको छ । खास गरी विविध कथागत विशेषतालाई केलाउँदै कथामा चित्रित असामान्य मनोविश्लेषणको व्याख्यामा प्रस्तुत लेख केन्द्रित रहेको छ । कथामा असामान्य मनोविश्लेषण छ कि छैन भन्ने पक्षलाई समस्याका रूपमा लिइएको छ । यसका साथै, प्राक्कल्पनालाई पुष्टि गर्ने तथ्यहरूलाई कथागत मनोघटनाहरूकै आधारमा साक्षी राखेर केलाई निष्कर्षमा पुग्नु लेखको उद्देश्य रहेको छ । कथाका मनोघटनाहरूको सूक्ष्म अध्ययनबाट कथामा एउटा चाकरीबाजको असामान्य मनोविश्लेषणको स्थितिलाई कलात्मक रूपमा देखाइएको छ भन्ने निष्कर्ष निकालिएको छ । कोइरालाका कथाहरूलाई यस प्रकारको फ्रायडीय मनोविश्लेषणको सिद्धान्तबाट सटीक विश्लेषण गर्न सकिने नमुना यस लेखले प्रस्तुत गरेको छ ।

मुख्य शब्दावली : असामान्य मनोदशा, फ्रायडीय मनोविश्लेषण, मनका तह, मानसिक अन्तर्द्वन्द्व, हीनताग्रन्थि ।

१. विषय परिचय

कथाकार विश्वेश्वरप्रसाद कोइराला राजनीतिक तीव्र सोच र सूक्ष्म मनोविश्लेषण शक्ति भएका साहित्यकार हुन् । उनका यी दुवै पक्षको समन्वित अभिव्यक्ति ‘दोषी चस्मा’ कथामा पाइन्छ । राणाकालीन निरङ्कुशतामा बाँचेको एउटा चाकरीबाजको असामान्य मनस्थितिलाई देखाएर तत्कालीन

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अवस्थाका सम्पूर्ण नेपालीको मनोविश्लेषणात्मक प्रतिबिम्ब उतार्नमा विशिष्ट देखिएकाले यस लेखमा प्रस्तुत कथालाई विश्लेषणका निम्ति छानिएको हो । कथाकार कोइराला आफ्ना कथामा फ्रायडीय मनोविश्लेषण सिद्धान्तको प्रयोग गरी मानवमनको सूक्ष्म यथार्थ केलाउन कुशल देखिन्छन् । मनका विविध तहहरूलाई केलाई सामान्य तथा असामान्य मनोविश्लेषण गर्ने कोइरालाको विवेच्य कथा पात्रगत मनोद्वन्द्व देखाई पात्रको असामान्य मनोविश्लेषणमा सबल रहेकाले यसको फ्रायडीय मनोविश्लेषण सिद्धान्तको कथाविश्लेषण विधि अँगालेर कथाको कथ्य, पात्र, परिवेश र भाषिक पक्षका माध्यमबाट सूक्ष्म स्तरमा मनोविश्लेषणात्मकताको विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । राणाकालीन परिवेश कस्तो थियो ? प्रमुख पात्र केशवराज चाकरी गर्न चुक्ता उसको मानसिकतामा कस्तो प्रभाव पयो ? त्यसबाट उसका मनमा केकस्ता मानसिक द्वन्द्व उत्पन्न भए ? उसभित्रका चेतन र अचेतन मनका बिचमा केकस्ता सङ्घर्षहरू चले ? ती मानसिक सङ्घर्षहरू पात्रका केकस्ता भाषिक अभिव्यक्तिहरूबाट प्रकट भए ? अन्तमा प्रमुख पात्रमा कस्तो असामान्य मानसिक स्थिति घटित भयो ? यी सबै प्रश्नहरूको उत्तर खोज्ने कार्य फ्रायडीय मनोविश्लेषण सिद्धान्तमा वर्णित चेतन र अचेतन मनका तह, हीनताग्रन्थि, सामान्य र असामान्य मनोदशाको स्थितिको विश्लेषणका आधारभूत मनोविश्लेषणका विधिको प्रयोग गरेर सम्पन्न गरिएको छ । निष्कर्षमा प्रमुख पात्र केशवराजमा विकसित असामान्य मनोविश्लेषणको स्थितिलाई देखाई अध्ययनको उद्देश्य पूर्ण गरिएको छ ।

२. अध्ययनको उद्देश्य

यस अध्ययनमा मनोवैज्ञानिक कथाकार विश्वेश्वरप्रसाद कोइरालाद्वारा लिखित 'दोषी चस्मा' कथाभित्र प्रयुक्त असामान्य मनोविज्ञानका पक्षलाई विश्लेषण गर्ने मूल उद्देश्य लिइएको छ ।

३. सैद्धान्तिक अवधारणा

फ्रायडीय सिद्धान्तअनुसार मान्छेका मनका तीन तह (चेतन, अचेतन र अर्धचेतन) हुन्छन् भने विभिन्न मनोग्रन्थि (मातृरतिग्रन्थि, पितृरतिग्रन्थि, हीनताग्रन्थि, उच्चताग्रन्थि, स्वपीडक-ग्रन्थि, परपीडक-ग्रन्थि), प्रकृति (सामान्य र असामान्य मनोविकृति वा मनोरोग), प्रवृत्ति (अन्तर्मुखी, बहिर्मुखी र उभयमुखी) आदि हुन्छन् (फ्रायड, इ.१९९६, भण्डारी, २०५६) । साहित्यकारले फ्रायडीय मनोविश्लेषण सिद्धान्तलाई अँगालेर व्यक्तिको वैयक्तिक वा सामूहिक मनको विश्लेषण गरेका हुन्छन् । फ्रायडीय सिद्धान्तमा मान्छेको सबभन्दा शक्तिशाली र प्रभावक अचेतन मन हुने मानिन्छ र त्यो मन व्यक्तिगत र सामूहिक हुने कुरा पनि स्विकारिन्छ । अझ फ्रायडको के विश्वास छ भने मान्छेको सम्पूर्ण जीवन सञ्चालन गर्ने जीवनशक्ति चाहिँ यौन वा काम (रति) हो । यस जीवनशक्तिको मूल वासस्थान चेतन मन होइन बरु अचेतन मन हो (भण्डारी, २०५६, पृ. २९-५८) । फ्रायडका अनुसार मान्छेको अचेतन मनले चेतन मनले भन्दा तीन गुणा बढी भाग ढाकेको हुन्छ किनभने सिङ्गो मनलाई चार भाग लगाउने हो भने अचेतनले एक तिहाइ भाग ढाक्छ तर चेतनले एक चौथाइ भाग मात्र ओगटेको हुन्छ । यसैले मान्छेका अधिकांश क्रियाकलापहरू अचेतनकै प्रभाव र प्रेरणाद्वारा सम्पन्न हुन्छन् । फेरि मानिसका इच्छा वा चाहना अनेकौँ हुन्छन् र ती इच्छाहरू सामाजिक, राजनैतिक, आर्थिक, सांस्कृतिक आदि कारणले पूर्ण हुन पाउँदैनन् ।

त्यस्ता अपूर्ण, अतृप्त वा असन्तुष्ट इच्छाहरू गएर अचेतन मनमा थुप्रिन्छन् र मानिसलाई विभिन्न अवसरमा ती दमित यौनेच्छा आदिले सताइरहन्छन् किनभने अचेतनमा थुप्रिएका इच्छाहरूलाई जसरी भए पनि सन्तुष्ट वा तृप्त पारेर आनन्द लिने स्वभाव अचेतनको हुन्छ। यस क्रममा चेतन वा सामाजिक र नैतिक आदर्शयुक्त मन र अचेतन वा आनन्दमुखी मनका बिचमा सङ्घर्ष वा द्वन्द्व भइरहन्छ (फ्रायड, इ.१९९६ : २२५-२९४)। यस्तो चेतन र अचेतनबीचको अन्तर्द्वन्द्वलाई मनोवैज्ञानिक कथाकारले कथाका चरित्र वा पात्रका मानसिक द्वन्द्वका माध्यमबाट प्रस्तुत गरेका हुन्छन्।

यस अध्ययनमा फ्रायडीय मनोविज्ञानको कोणबाट कथाकार कोइरालाद्वारा लिखित 'दोषी चस्मा' कथालाई विश्लेषण गरिएको छ। अध्ययनमा दोषी चस्मा कथा रचनाको सन्दर्भ तथा रुसी कथाकार आन्तोन् चेखभको सन्दर्भलाई केलाइएको छ। पात्रगत भूमिकाका आधारमा कथामा प्रयुक्त असामान्य मनोविज्ञानलाई केलाइनु नै यस अध्ययनको सैद्धान्तिक आधार हो।

४. अध्ययन विधि

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन सैद्धान्तिक प्रकृतिको रहेको छ। यसमा पुस्तकालयीय सामग्रीलाई गुणात्मक अनुसन्धान विधिको प्रयोग गरी सम्पन्न गरिएको छ। प्राथमिक स्रोत सामग्रीका रूपमा कथाकार कोइरालाको कथालाई प्रयोग गरिएको छ, भने मनोविज्ञान, फ्रायडीय सिद्धान्त तथा यस विषय र सन्दर्भसँग सम्बन्धित अध्ययनीय विश्लेषणलाई द्वितीयक स्रोतका रूपमा उपयोग गरी यो अध्ययनलाई पूरा गरिएको छ।

५. कथाकारको चिनारी

विश्वेश्वरप्रसाद कोइराला (वि.सं. १९७१-२०३९) नेपाली राजनीति र साहित्य क्षेत्रका विशिष्ट व्यक्तित्व हुन्। उनी बहुमुखी प्रतिभा भएका व्यक्तित्व हुनाले कथा, उपन्यास, कविता, निबन्ध, जीवनी, दैनिकी, समालोचना आदि साहित्यिक विधामा कलम चलाउन समर्थ रहे। बहुप्रतिभाशाली कोइरालाका मरणोपरान्त प्रकाशित 'आफ्नो कथा' (२०४०), 'जेल जर्नल' (२०५४) र 'आत्मवृत्तान्त' (२०५५) ले उनलाई नेपाली साहित्यका विशिष्ट आत्मजीवनीकार र दैनिकीकारका रूपमा सुपरिचित गराएका छन्। तापनि मूल रूपमा साहित्यकार कोइराला एक सफल तथा कुशल आख्यानकार (कथाकार र उपन्यासकार) का नामले विख्यात रहेका देखिन्छन्। आख्यानकार कोइरालाका अहिलेसम्म दुई ओटा कथासङ्ग्रह प्रकाशित छन् : 'दोषी चस्मा' (२००६) र 'श्वेतभैरवी' (२०३९)। यसै गरी हालसम्म उनका ६ ओटा उपन्यास प्रकाशित छन् : 'तीन घुम्ती' (२०२५), 'नरेन्द्र दाइ' (२०२७), 'सुम्निमा' (२०२७), 'मोदिआइन' (२०३६), 'हिटलर र यहूदी' (२०४०) र 'बाबु, आमा र छोरा' (२०४५) (शर्मा, २०५६ : १०३-११०)।

५.१ कथागत प्रवृत्ति र विशेषता

विश्वेश्वरप्रसाद कोइराला नेपाली साहित्यमा सर्वप्रथम मनोवैज्ञानिक कथाको शुभारम्भ गर्ने आधुनिक कथाकार हुन्। उनले गुरुप्रसाद मैनालीसँगसँगै नेपाली कथामा आधुनिकता ल्याएर

एक युगप्रवर्तक कथाकारको भूमिका खेलेका छन् । मैनालीले नेपाली कथामा सामाजिक यथार्थवादको थालनी गरेर आधुनिकताको आमन्त्रण गरेका थिए भने कोइरालाले नेपाली कथामा मनोवैज्ञानिक यथार्थवादको सुरुवात (त्रिपाठी, २०२८ : ५३) गरेर सो आधुनिकतामा नवीन धारागत आयाम थपेर नेपाली कथालाई विश्वस्तरीय स्थानमा पुऱ्याउनेतर्फको गन्तव्यमा अभिमुख गराएका थिए ।

कथाकार कोइरालाले आफ्ना कथामा खास गरी विश्वप्रसिद्ध मनोवैज्ञानिक वा मनोविश्लेषणशास्त्री सिगमन्ड फ्रायडद्वारा प्रतिपादित मनोविश्लेषण सिद्धान्तको कलात्मक प्रयोग गरेका छन् । त्यसैले उनलाई फ्रायडवादी कथाकार भनिन्छ । फ्रायडवादी मनोविश्लेषण सिद्धान्तको कलात्मक प्रयोग गरी रचिएको उनको पहिलो कथा 'चन्द्रवदन' हो र यो १९९२ सालको 'शारदा' पत्रिकामा प्रकाशित भएको थियो (बराल, २०२९, शर्मा, २०५०, श्रेष्ठ, २०५७) ।

कथाकार कोइराला पनि माथि उल्लेख भएको फ्रायडवादी मनोविश्लेषण सिद्धान्तका आधारमा कथाका पात्रहरूको मनोद्वन्द्वलाई सूक्ष्म ढङ्गले कलात्मक रूपमा अभिव्यक्त गर्न सिपालु देखिन्छन् । यसरी मनोवैज्ञानिक यथार्थवादी धाराको नयाँ प्रवृत्ति थाल्दै कोइरालाले नेपाली आधुनिक कथामा नयाँ आयाम थपेका हुन् (आचार्य र अन्य, २०४६ : १६) ।

६. 'दोषी चस्मा' कथाको विश्लेषण

६.१ प्रकाशन सन्दर्भ र कथागत मूल्य

'दोषी चस्मा' कथा सर्वप्रथम २००५ साल जेठमा बनारसबाट प्रकाशित हुने 'युगवाणी' पत्रिकामा छापिएको थियो । यसको एक वर्षपछि यसै शीर्षकलाई मुख्य बनाएर छापिएको कोइरालाको पहिलो कथासङ्ग्रह 'दोषी चस्मा' (२००६) मा सङ्कलित भई नेपाली पाठकहरूविच आएर अत्यन्त लोकप्रिय कथा बन्यो । राणाकालमै लेखिएर त्यतिखेरै प्रकाशित भएको यस कथाले तत्कालीन सामाजिक परिवेशलाई सूक्ष्म अवलोकन र निरीक्षण गरी राणाकालीन चाकरीप्रथाभित्र पित्सिएको नेपाली मानसिकताको रोचक विश्लेषण गरेको छ ।

राणाकालीन सामाजिक यथार्थलाई एउटा व्यक्तिका मनमा परेको त्रासपूर्ण कालो छायाका रूपमा सजीव तुल्याई लेखिएको 'दोषी चस्मा' कोइरालाका कथाहरूमध्येको सर्वश्रेष्ठ कथा हो । यस कथाले कोइरालाका राजनीतिक र साहित्यिक दुवै व्यक्तित्वलाई एकसाथ समेटेर उच्च मूल्य प्रदान गरेको छ । प्रजातन्त्रप्रेमी राजनीतिज्ञ र मनोवैज्ञानिक कथाकार कोइरालाको समष्टि स्वरूप यस कथामा भेटिन्छ । राजनीतिक विषयलाई मनोवैज्ञानिक कथामा उतार्ने सुन्दर कला यस कथामा देखिने हुनाले यो एक 'क्लासिक' रचना हो । सामन्ती र अधिनायकवादी शासनव्यवस्थाका अत्याचारमुनि क्षणक्षण आकुल-व्याकुल भई भयाक्रान्त मनस्थितिमा जीवन गुजार्ने निरीह जनताको शाश्वत तस्विर 'दोषी चस्मा' कथामा हृदयस्पर्शी बनेर चित्रित भएको छ । जनविरोधी शासनभित्र दीनहीन बनेर बाँच्न विवश व्यक्तिको मनोदशाको कलात्मक चिरफार गरिएको यस कथाले अप्रजातान्त्रिक

शासनप्रति तीव्र व्यङ्ग्य गरेको छ र त्यस्तो शासनलाई हेर्ने दृष्टिकोणमा परिवर्तन ल्याउनुपर्ने अन्तःसन्देश प्रवाह गरेको छ ।

६.२ कथारचनाको प्रेरणा र प्रभाव

‘दोषी चस्मा’ कथाको रचना गर्ने प्रेरणा र प्रभाव कोइरालाले विश्वप्रसिद्ध रुसी साहित्यकार आन्तोन चेखभबाट पाएको देखिन्छ । चेखभको इ. १८८३ मा प्रकाशित ‘कारिन्दाको मृत्यु’ (अङ्ग्रेजीमा ‘The Clerk's Death’) कथा (चेखभ, इ. १९८२, : १०-१३) बाट प्रेरित-प्रभावित भई कोइरालाले वि.सं. २००५ (इ. १९४८) मा ‘दोषी चस्मा’ लेखे (श्रेष्ठ, २०३२ : १७२-१७९) । चेखभको उक्त कथासँग कोइरालाको कथाले कतिपय सन्दर्भमा समानता देखाएको छ । चेखभको कथाको प्रमुख पात्र पनि कर्मचारी हुन्छ र कोइरालाको कथाको प्रमुख पात्र पनि चाकरीबाज वा कर्मचारी नै हुन्छ । चेखभको कथामा हाच्छरुँ गरेर सिँगानका छिटा पारेर एक जर्नेलमाथि भुल गरिन्छ भने कोइरालाका कथामा पावरविनाको चस्मा लगाएर समयमै राम्ररी देख्न नसक्दा जर्नेल साहेब वा जर्साबलाई स्वस्ति नगरेर भुल गरेको ठानिन्छ । चेखभ र कोइराला दुवैका प्रमुख पात्रहरू हीनताको भावनाले ग्रस्त हुन्छन् अनि दुवैले आआफ्ना श्रीमतीसँग सल्लाह माग्दा माफी माग्नुपर्ने सुझाव दिन्छन् । त्यसै गरी दुवै कथाकारका प्रमुख पात्रले तीन-चार पटक माफी माग्ने प्रयास गरेका छन् । ती दुवै कथाका प्रमुख पात्रलाई यस्तो सानो वा जाबो कुराप्रति वास्तै नगरी माफी दिइएको पनि देखाइएको छ र ती दुवै एकदमै शङ्कालु एवम् मानसिक चिन्तामा डुब्ने मनोरोगी देखिएका छन् ।

चेखभ र कोइरालाका उक्त दुई कथामा प्रशस्तै समानता पाइए पनि ‘दोषी चस्मा’ चेखभकै कथाको अनुवाद वा नक्कल होइन, एउटा मौलिक सिर्जना हो । कोइरालाले आफ्नै नेपाली परिवेश वा पात्रको सोचाइलाई स्थान दिएर आफ्नो मौलिकतालाई बचाएका छन् । चेखभको पात्र शङ्काको आगोले छटपटिएर मर्छ तर कोइरालाको शङ्कालु पात्र धैर्य गरी सकारात्मक सोचाइ अँगाल्ने नेपालीकै प्रतिरूप भई बाँच्छ । त्यसैले ‘दोषी चस्मा’ रुसी कथाकार चेखभको प्रभाव परेको कोइरालाको एक सफल मौलिक सिर्जना बनेको कुरा सबैले स्वीकार गरेका छन् । वास्तवमा विषयचयन, पात्रविधान, परिवेशचित्रण, कथावस्तुको उठान र बैठानद्वारा कथाको सिर्जनात्मक मौलिकता साबित हुन गएको छ जसमा संस्कारगत भिन्नताले मुख्य भूमिका खेलेको छ । चाकरीमा रमाउने संस्कृति भएकाले नेपाली केशवराज बाँचेर जीवन चलाउने प्रयास गर्छ भने चाकरीलाई अस्वीकार गर्ने रुसी संस्कृति भएकाले चेखभको मुख्य पात्र मर्छ । यिनको मानसिकताको बनोटलाई आआफ्नो सामाजिक संस्कृतिले निर्धारण गरेको देखाउनु मौलिकताको कसी हो (त्रिपाठी, २०२८, श्रेष्ठ, २०३२, शर्मा, २०४०, शर्मा, २०५६, श्रेष्ठ, २०५७) ।

६.३ पात्रको मानसिकताको विश्लेषण

‘दोषी चस्मा’ सामाजिक परिस्थितिबाट जन्मेको जटिल मानसिकताको चित्रण गर्ने एक उत्कृष्ट मनोवैज्ञानिक कथा हो । यसमा विशिष्ट सामाजिक वा राजनैतिक प्रथाद्वारा व्यक्तिका

मनमा पार्ने गम्भीर प्रभावको मनोवैज्ञानिक विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । यहाँ क्रूर र अत्याचारी राणाशासनको कठोर दमनमुनि चाकरी गरेर दासतापूर्वक जीवन निर्वाह गर्न विवश चाकरीबाज केशवराजको मनोविश्लेषण छ (शर्मा, २०४० : १४-१६) । त्यसैले यो कथा घटनाप्रधान नभई चरित्रप्रधान बनेको छ । यस्तो कथाले घटना वा कथानकलाई त्यति महत्त्व दिंदैन, चरित्रका विभिन्न पक्षको वर्णन-विश्लेषणमा बढी ध्यान दिन्छ । यसैले यसमा भिन्नो कथानक छ र सघन चारित्रिक विश्लेषण छ । पातलो घटना र बाक्लो मनोविश्लेषण भएकाले यस कथामा खासखास घटना, प्रसङ्ग र मानसिक संवेगहरूबाट कथाकारले मानसिक घटनावलीको योजना गरेका छन् । घटनाक्रमको योजना क्रमिक शृङ्खलामा गरिएकाले कथा आदि-मध्य-अन्त्यको रैखिक गतिमा पूर्ण भएको छ । कथाको संरचना सरल छ । यस कथाको मानसिक घटनाक्रमलाई तल भनेअनुसार देखाउन सकिन्छ ।

एकदिन पावर कम भई राम्ररी देख्न नसक्ने भएको दोषी चस्मा लगाएको केशवराज जर्साबका महलमा चाकरी (नोकरी) गर्न जान्छ । साँझ पर्न लाग्दा पनि जर्साब नआएपछि अरू चाकरिया निराश भई घर फर्कन थाले पनि ऊचाहिँ केही समय दर्शन गर्ने आशाले कुरिरहन्छ । परन्तु जर्साब नआएकाले ऊ पनि अस्ताउँदो सूर्यको रमाइलो प्राकृतिक दृश्य हेर्दै बडो उत्साहसाथ घरतिर फर्कन बाटो लाग्छ । बाटामा उसलाई कालो वस्तुजस्तो केही आएजस्तो लाग्छ तर चस्माको पावर कम भएकाले टाढाको वस्तुलाई ऊ राम्ररी ठम्याउन सक्तैन । उसकै छेउमै आइपुग्दा मात्र त्यो जर्साबको मोटर हो भन्ने उसलाई थाहा हुन्छ । मोटर उसलाई पछि पारेर अगि बढिसकेपछि ऊ जर्साबलाई पछाडिपट्टिबाट स्वस्ति (दर्शन वा ढोग) गर्न भ्याउँछ । ऊ अगाडिबाट जर्साबले प्रत्यक्ष देख्ने गरी स्वस्ति गर्न नभ्याएकोमा आफूले ठूलो गल्ती गरेको ठान्छ । आफ्ना अन्नदाता र आशा-भरोसाका एकमात्र केन्द्र रहेका जर्साबलाई समयमै स्वस्ति वा नमस्कार गरेर चाकरी पुर्‍याउन नसकेकामा ऊ एकदमै खिन्न हुन्छ र उसलाई हीनताको भावनाले ग्रस्त पार्छ । यस खिन्नतासँगै उसका मनमा अनेक शङ्का-उपशङ्का उब्जन्छन् । उसले जर्साबलाई नटेरेको भन्ने ठानियो भने त आफ्नो बासै उठीबास हुन सक्छ भन्ने आशङ्का र डरले केशवराजलाई हतोत्साह बनाउँछ । ऊ मानसिक चिन्ताले छटपटाउँदै घर पुग्दा उसमा क्रमशः रिस बढ्न थाल्छ । पहिले त ऊ धोका दिने आफ्नै दोषी चस्मादेखि रिसाउँछ । त्यसपछि काम बिगारेपछि मात्र आँखा देख्ने आफ्नै मूर्खताप्रति रिसाउँछ । त्यसै गरी सजिलै जिउबाट ननिस्कने आफ्ना लुगादेखि रिसाउँछ । त्यसपछि भात पकाउँदै गरेकी आफ्नी निर्दोष पत्नीप्रति तथानाम गाली गर्दै रिस पोच्छ । भात खाएर सुतेपछि पनि उसलाई निन्द्रा लाग्दैन । अब उसका मनमा दुई थरी विचार वा भावनाको द्वन्द्व चलन थाल्छ । एकातिर उसले जर्साबप्रति ठूलो अपराध वा पाप गरेको भन्ने सोचाइ बढ्छ, भने अर्कातिर राम्ररी देख्न नसक्ने चस्मा लगाएको अन्धोले अपराध गरेकै होइन नि भन्ने निर्दोषिताको भावना पनि आउँछ । तापनि, आफूले भुल गरेकै हो भन्ने निष्कर्षमा केशवराजको मन शङ्कालु र भयभीत हुन पुग्छ । यसपछि ऊ झन् आत्तिन्छ र निदाउने नसकी आधा रातसम्म छटपटाइरहन्छ । लोभनेको यस्तो स्थिति थाहा पाई आफूलाई यस्तो दुःख पर्नाको कारण बताउन केशवराजकी स्वास्नीले

अनुरोध गर्दा उसलाई भन् रिस उठ्छ, तापनि पिरले भुटभुटिएको केशवराज आफ्नो समस्या अप्रत्यक्ष रूपमा स्वास्नीसामु राख्छ । स्वास्नीले माफी माग्ने उपाय बताएपछि ऊ घैँटामा घाम लागेभैं फुरुङ्ग परी बिहान उज्यालो हुने समय नै नभई माफीका लागि जर्साबसँग भेट गर्न जान आतुरिन्छ ।

भोलिपल्ट जर्साबसित माफी माग्न एकान्त स्थानमा छुट्टै बसेका बेला दरबारभित्रबाट आएको जर्साबको सइससित रिसाएको ठूलो आवाज केशवराजले सुन्छ । केशवराजलाई आफ्नै अपमानका कारणले जर्साब त्यसरी रिसाएका हुन् भन्ने लाग्छ र आफ्ना लागि स्थिति प्रतिकूल भएको ठानी त्यस दिन माफी नै नमागी घर फर्कन्छ । घरतिर फर्कँदा बाटामा उसलाई नातागत भई एक डेग चल्दा पनि स्वाँस्वाँ हुन थाल्छ भने सानो कुरामा पनि रिसाउने जर्साबको बानीसँग रिस उठ्न थाल्छ । आफूले जानीजानी कुनै अपराध नगरेको तर थोत्रो चस्माले देख्न नसकेको हुनाले आफ्नो समस्या बुझ्दै नबुझी बिनासिती रिसाउने जर्साबसँग माफी माग्नुपर्ने कुनै खाँचो छैन भन्ने मनको दोधारमा पर्दै ऊ आफूलाई केही दरो बनाउन प्रयास गर्छ । फेरि घर पुग्दा नपुग्दै हीनताले गाँठिएको केशवराज आफूजस्तो चाकरीले नै दुई छाक टार्ने भुत्रेले जर्साबसँग टेक लिन खोजे भोकै मर्नुपर्ने विचार गर्दै पुनः माफी माग्नुपर्ने निधोमा पुग्छ । यसै अनुसार ऊ जर्साबकहाँ जान्छ र भन्छ, “प्रभु ! चस्माको दोष, माफ पाऊँ ।” तर ‘केको माफी ?’ भनेर जर्साबले कडासित उल्टै सोधिदिँदा ऊ अलमल्ल पर्छ र जर्साब त ऊसँग धेरै रिसाएका रहेछन् भन्ने ठानेर भन् डरले काम्दै थचक्कै बस्छ । यसपछि उसमा घोर निराशा उत्पन्न हुन्छ अनि उसको भोक-तिर्खा सबै हराउँछ । यसरी आत्तिएको उसमा अन्तमा बाँच्ने प्रेरणा सबल हुन्छ र ऊ पुनः सक्रिय भई आफ्ना सबै कुरा जर्साबलाई भनेर माफी माग्न जर्साबको दरबारमा जान्छ । जर्साबले उसका सबै कुरा सुन्छन् र ‘यस्तो जावो कुरा’ भनेर माफी दिई केशवराजको ‘मनको बाघ’ लाई मारिदिन्छन् अनि अस्वस्थ मनस्थितिमा पुगेको एउटा चाकरीबाजलाई भ्रमको डरलाग्दो आतङ्कबाट शान्त पार्छन् । यस्तो परिस्थितिबाट अन्तमा केशवराज बडो प्रसन्नता, खुसी र करुणाको भाव मनमा लिन्छ । परन्तु, उसको मनको कुनामा रहेको जति चाकरी गरे पनि खुसी पार्न नसकिने जर्साबका व्यवहारलाई सम्झेर ग्लानि अनुभव गर्छ ।

माथिको मानसिक घटनाका योजनामा बडो उत्साहसाथ घर फर्कदै गरेको केशवराजले आफ्नो दोषी चस्माले गर्दा जर्साबलाई पहिले नै चिनेर मोटरको अगाडिबाट स्वस्ति गर्न चुक्दा त्यसको डरत्रासले आफ्नो सर्वनाश हुने जुन मानसिक चिन्ता उसमा उत्पन्न हुन्छ, यहीँबाट कथानकको प्रारम्भ हुन्छ । उक्त चिन्ताले उसभित्र रिस वा क्रोधको बाढी ल्याइदिन्छ, निराशा र अत्यास बढाउँछ, निन्द्रा लाग्दैन र पीडाले छटपटाउने अवस्थामा पुर्‍याउँछ । उसकी पत्नीले त्यस्तो मानसिक दुःख हटाउन माफी माग्ने सल्लाह दिएपछि उसमा मानसिक परिवर्तन आउँछ । यहाँसम्मका प्रसङ्गहरू मानसिक कथानकका आदिभागभित्र पर्छन् । केशवराजले पटकपटक माफी माग्ने प्रयास गरी मानसिक चिन्ताबाट मुक्त हुने क्रममा गरेका विविध मानसिक सन्दर्भहरू मध्यभागमा पर्छन् । तेस्रो पटकको प्रयासमा जब उसले

जर्साबबाट माफी पाउँछ, तब मध्यभागको समाप्ति हुन्छ। माफीपछि प्रसन्नता, खुसी र करुणा भरिएको मनले जीवनलाई हेर्न थालेर अन्ततः जर्साब खुस पार्ने क्रममा भोग्नुपर्ने ग्लानिको प्रसङ्गसँगै केशवराजको हीनताग्रस्त मानसिकतालाई चिरफार गरी कथानकलाई अन्त्यभागमा पुऱ्याइएको छ (कोइराला, २०३२ : १-७)।

६.४ असामान्य मनोविज्ञानको चित्रण

‘दोषी चस्मा’ प्रमुख पात्रको असामान्य मनोविज्ञान देखाउने मनोवैज्ञानिक वा मनोविश्लेषणात्मक कथा हो। यसमा फ्रायडीय मनोविश्लेषण सिद्धान्तका आधारमा केशवराज भन्ने प्रमुख पात्रको विकृत वा अस्वस्थ स्थितिमा पुगेको मानसिकताको सूक्ष्म विश्लेषण गरिएको छ। यस क्रममा कथाभित्र मानवीय संवेगहरूको वर्णन गरिएको छ। मानवीय संवेग भनेका मानिसका मनभित्र रहेका डर, रिस, हर्ष, चिन्ता, करुणा, प्रेम, घृणा, आशा, निराशा, ग्लानि, हीनता आदि सूक्ष्म उत्तेजना वा स्थिति हुन्। ‘दोषी चस्मा’ ले यिनै मानसिक तहमा उत्पन्न भएका भावहरूलाई गम्भीर रूपमा केलाएको छ (शर्मा, २०५० : ४६) र केशवराजका मनमा भएका ती संवेगहरूको ताँतीलाई देखाएको छ।

कथाको सुरुमा केशवराजका मनमा आशा, उत्साह, प्रसन्नता छचल्किएको देखिन्छ। जब जर्साबलाई चाकरी पुग्ने गरी स्वस्ति गर्न पाउँदैन तब उसको भित्री इच्छा सहजै पूर्ण वा तृप्त हुन नपाई त्यो दमित इच्छाको रूपमा अचेतन मनमा दबिन्छ र त्यसले उसको मानसिकतामा विविध संवेगहरूका माध्यमबाट उथलपुथल मच्चाइदिन्छ। राणाशासनका शक्तिशाली व्यक्ति आफ्ना अन्नदाता र आशाका केन्द्र रहेका जर्साबलाई पावर कम भएको चस्माले धोका दिएर भक्ति गर्न नपाउँदा केशवराजमा डर, त्रास, आतङ्क र तीव्र हीनता बढ्यो। ठूला मानिसको इज्जतै नरहने गरी स्वस्ति गर्न अटेर गरेको भन्ने भावना जर्साबमा प्यो भने आफ्नो बासै उठ्छ, भन्ने डरलाग्दो शङ्का केशवराजका मनमा उब्ज्यो। यस शङ्काले उसका मनमा रिसको लहर दौड्यो। चस्मामाथि रिस, आफ्नो मूर्खतामाथि रिस, लुगामाथि रिस, निर्दोष स्वास्नीमाथि रिस खिनियो। बढी रिसले राती अनिद्रा बढ्यो र मानसिक छटपटीले सताउन थाल्यो। आफ्ना अन्नदातामाथि ठूलो अपराध वा पाप गरियो भन्ने अचेतन मनको औडाहा वा पिरले एकातिर केशवराजको मनमा डढेलो लगायो भने अर्कातिर पावरबिनाको चस्माले गर्दा भएको सानो विरामबाट केको अपराध हुनु नि भन्ने चेतन मनको पवित्र भावनाले चित्तलाई शान्त बनाउने प्रयास पनि गर्‍यो। यस्तो मनको अन्तर्द्वन्द्वले केशवराजलाई आधा रातसम्म सुत्नै दिएन। पत्नीले त्यतिन्जेलसम्म ननिदाउनाको कारण सोध्दा पनि उसलाई रिसै उठ्यो, निराशाको भावना नै बढायो तर पत्नीले माफी माग्ने सल्लाह दिनासाथ त्यस सल्लाहले अत्यासले भाउन्न भएका केशवराजमा उत्साह र फुर्ती बढायो।

बडो उत्सुकतासाथ माफी माग्न गएको केशवराजमा सडससित रिसाएको जर्साबको क्रुद्ध वाणीले थप शङ्का र डर उत्पन्न गर्छ। आफ्नै विरामका कारणले जर्साब त्यति धेरै रिसाएका हुन् भन्ने भ्रमले ऊ बाटामा हिँड्दै नसक्ने गरी विरामी भई अस्वस्थ मनस्थितिमा पुग्छ।

यही प्रसङ्ग उसको असामान्य मनोविज्ञान देखाउने क्षण हो । यसपछि पनि उसका मनमा चेतन मनले अपराध गरेको छैन र अचेतन मनले त्यत्रा ठूला व्यक्तिसँग टेक लिएर भोकै मर्नु हुन्न भन्ने अन्तर्द्वन्द्व मच्चिन्छ र अन्तमा अचेतन मनकै इच्छानुसार माफी माग्नैपर्ने निर्णय हुन्छ । पहिलोपल्ट माफी माग्दा जर्साब भन् रिसाएर बोलेकोजस्तो भान केशवराजलाई हुन्छ । उसको सातोपुत्लो उड्छ । ऊ चारैतिर अँध्यारो देखेर थर्थर काम्दै बेहोसीको स्थितिमा थचक्क बस्छ । यो प्रसङ्ग असामान्य मनोविज्ञानको अर्को स्थिति देखाउने मानसिक अवस्था हो ।

यसपछि केशवराज सबभन्दा बढी निराशामा धकेलियो र सिकिस्त बिरामीजस्तो भई भातसात केही नखाई बिछ्यौनामा बड्लड्ग पल्टियो । तापनि, उसमा मरिहाल्ने भावना आएन । उसले बाँच्ने चाहना जागृत भएको अनुभव गर्‍यो र अन्तिममा जर्साबकहाँ गएर सबै यथार्थ बताई माफी माग्दा माफी पायो । यसपछि उसमा सम्पूर्ण मनोविकृतिको अन्त्य भई प्रसन्नता, खुसी र नवीन स्फूर्तिको सञ्चार हुन्छ । घरमा आफ्नी पत्नीप्रति दया, करुणा, सहानुभूति र प्रेमको भावना बढ्छ तापनि कहिलेकाहीं हेर्दै नहेर्ने वा पूरै बेवास्ता गर्ने जर्साबको कठोरता सम्भेर केशवराजलाई कहिल्यै शान्त नहुने ग्लानिले सताउनचाहिँ छाड्दैन ।

यसरी 'दोषी चस्मा' कथामा हीनताग्रन्थिले ग्रस्त केशवराजका मनका संवेगहरूलाई केलाएर एउटा मनोरोगी व्यक्तिका मानसिक तनाउको सजीव वर्णन गरिएकाले पुरुषपात्रमा पाइने असामान्य मनोविज्ञानको सफल र कुशल अभिव्यक्तिमा कथाकार कोइरालाले उच्च कीर्तिमान हासिल गरेका छन् ।

६.५ पात्र प्रयोगमा विशिष्टता

'दोषी चस्मा' थोरै पात्रको प्रयोग गरी लेखिएको कथा हो । यसमा तीन पात्र छन् - केशवराज, उसकी पत्नी र जर्साब । केशवराज कथाको केन्द्रीय पात्र हो र उसकै असामान्य मनस्थितिको विश्लेषण कथाकार कोइरालाले यहाँ गरेका छन् । केशवराजको मानसिक अवस्थालाई अर्कोतर्फ मोड्न उसकी पत्नीको उपस्थिति गराइएको छ । राणाकालीन शासकहरू नेपाली जनतालाई कसरी चाकरीको जाँतोमा दलेर दासतापूर्ण जीवन बिताउन विवश तुल्याउँथे भन्ने यथार्थ देखाउन र चाकरीबाज केशवराजको हीनताग्रन्थिलाई उकासेर उसभित्र उत्पन्न विविध मानसिक संवेगहरूको चक्रलाई सूक्ष्म स्तरमा देखाउन उपस्थित गराइएको पात्र जर्साब हो ।

केशवराज पेसाले राणाकालीन चाकरीबाज हो । जर्साबको चाकरी गरेकै भरमा दुई छाकको व्यवस्था गर्ने केशवराज निम्नवर्गीय पात्र हो । उसको परिवारमा पति र पत्नी दुई जना मात्र छन् । आर्थिक स्थिति कमजोर भएकै हुँदा उसले पावर कम भएको चस्माको सिसा फेर्न सकेको छैन । आफ्नो चस्मा दोषी भएकाले उसले ठीकसँग जर्साबलाई स्वस्ति गरी चाकरी पुर्‍याउन सकेन । जर्साब चढेको मोटरको नम्बर आँखाले देख्न नसक्दा मोटर अगाडितिर कटिसकेपछि मात्र देखेर मोटरको पछाडिबाट मात्र उसले स्वस्ति गर्न भ्यायो । यही घटनाले उसलाई जर्साबले बेइज्जती गरेको भनेर रिसाई आफ्नो घरबार उठीबास गराएर बर्बाद गरिदेलान् भन्ने

डर र शङ्का उब्जाइदिन्छ। वास्तवमा त्यो 'मनको बाघ' मात्र थियो तर उसको शङ्कालु मन र हीनताग्रन्थिले उसका मनभित्र अनेक भावहरूको आँधीहुरी सिर्जना गरेर जीवनमा डरलाग्दो भुइँचालो ल्याइदिन्छ। त्यस्ता भावहरूको चर्चा माथि नै भइसकेको छ। सामाजिक दृष्टिले ऊ एक पराश्रयी दासको जीवन बिताउने दयनीय पात्र हो भने मानसिक दृष्टिले हीनताग्रस्त अचेतन मनको सिकार भई त्रासैत्रासमा तनावपूर्ण जीवन भोग्ने एक मनोरोगी हो। त्यसैले उसमा असामान्य मनोविज्ञान देखापर्छ। उसको मानसिक उतारचढाउ र क्रियाप्रतिक्रियाविच ऊ अस्वाभाविक क्रियाकलापहरू गर्न र अस्वस्थ मनस्थितिमा भुटभुटिदै दिनरात गुजार्न पुग्छ।

मनोविश्लेषणात्मक कथाको प्रमुख पात्र केशवराज उसकै व्यक्तिगत मनका सूक्ष्म भावात्मक अन्तर्क्रियालाई देखाउने क्रममा आएको छ। यस क्रममा ऊ व्यक्तिगत पात्रको प्रभावशाली भूमिकामा देखिएको छ। अर्कातिर उसले राणाशासनमा अनेक सामाजिक र मानसिक यन्त्रणा भोगेर दासतापूर्ण जीवन बिताउन विवश सम्पूर्ण नेपाली जनताको निरीह अवस्थाको प्रतिनिधित्व गरेकाले ऊ वर्गीय पात्रको भूमिकामा पनि देखिएको छ। यसरी व्यक्तिगत र वर्गीय दुवै स्वरूपमा अर्थिने उसको चरित्र विशिष्ट प्रकारको पनि र सार्वभौम प्रकारको पनि देखिन्छ। यसो भए तापनि यो चरित्रप्रधान कथा भएकाले यसमा केशवराजको चरित्रचित्रणलाई नै कथाकारले प्रमुखता दिएर उसको मनोविश्लेषणलाई मसिनो गरी केसाकेसामा केलाएर मार्मिक ढङ्गले देखाएका छन्। अन्य दृष्टिले विश्लेषण गर्दा केशवराजले गोलो पात्र, सापेक्ष पात्र, गतिशील पात्र, सार्वभौम पात्र, मौलिक पात्र, आद्यप्रकार एवम् प्रकार पात्रको चारित्रिक विशेषता वहन गरेको छ।

६.७ परिवेश योजना

'दोषी चस्मा' कथामा मूलतः मानसिक परिवेश र अंशतः सामाजिक परिवेशको योजना गरिएको छ। राणाकालीन कठोर तानाशाही शासन-व्यवस्थालाई सामाजिक पृष्ठभूमि र सांस्कृतिक आधारभूमि बनाएर त्यही सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक परिवेशमा शङ्का, डर, त्रास, निराशा, रिसरागले घेरिएको मानसिक परिवेशभित्र कुच्चिएर तुच्छ वस्तुसरह भएर बाँचेको व्यक्तिको चरित्रमाथि प्रकाश पार्ने उद्देश्य कथाकारको छ। राणाको चाकरीद्वारा जीवन पाल्ने केशवराजको अचेतन मनको अन्नदाता मालिकप्रति रिझाउने गरी भक्ति (स्वस्ति) गर्ने तीव्र इच्छा थियो। त्यो सहजै पूर्ण हुनमा उसको दोषी चस्माले धोका दिएकाले अचेतन मनमा दबिएर उसभित्र मानसिक उकुसमुकुस वा जटिलता उत्पन्न गर्न प्रयत्नशील रह्यो। त्यही मानसिक चिन्ताले भित्रभित्रै जलेको केशवराजको अस्वस्थ मनस्थिति एवम् जिजीविषा (बाँच्ने इच्छा) ले मरिहाल्न नदिई बाँच्ने आशा पलाएर लगभग ज्यानै लिने दुर्घटनाबाट पुनर्जीवन प्राप्त गरेको स्थितिभै भएर व्यर्थको शङ्का र असन्तुष्टिबाट शङ्का हटी आत्मसन्तुष्टि प्राप्त भएको मानसिक स्थितिलाई कथाको आन्तरिक परिवेशले देखाएको छ। बाह्य परिवेशमा केवल जर्सावको दरबारमा जाने-आउने बाटो र केशवराजको घर आएको छ भने स्वस्ति

गर्न चुक्ता अकस्मात् जन्मेको 'मनको बाघले खाने स्थिति' र त्यसले बढाएका थरीथरीका मानसिक क्रियाप्रतिक्रिया वा घटनाहरूले कथाको आन्तरिक वा मानसिक परिवेशको निर्माण गरेका छन् । यस प्रकारको परिवेश योजनाले कथालाई विश्वसनीय बनाई पात्रको मनको आन्तरिक स्थितिलाई कलात्मक रूपले व्यक्त गर्नमा भूमिका खेलेको छ ।

६.८ भाषाशैलीगत विशेषता

'दोषी चस्मा' कथामा कोइरालाको निजत्वले विशिष्ट बनेको कलात्मक तथा सुन्दर भाषा र शैली पाइन्छ । यसो भए तापनि यस कथाको रचनामा कोइराला विश्वप्रसिद्ध कथाकार आन्तोन चेखभको कथाको भाषाशैलीबाट प्रशस्त प्रभावित देखिन्छन् । त्यसैले 'दोषी चस्मा' चेखभकै जस्तो सरल, सहज, प्रवाहमय र छोटोछोटा वाक्यमा रचना गरिएको प्रभावकारी भाषाशैलीको कथा हो । यो कथा संवादको स्वल्प प्रयोग गरेर रैखिक गतिमा अधि बढाइएको छ । यसमा कथाको सङ्क्षेपात्मक र दृश्यात्मक दुवै पद्धतिमा गरिएको वर्णन छ । कथाका मानसिक घटनावलीलाई तृतीय पुरुषका दृष्टिविन्दुमा राखेर प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ । यसको शीर्षकको भाषा हेर्दा प्रतीकात्मक रहेको देखिन्छ । चस्मा दोषी भएकाले भ्रमवश उत्पन्न भएको मानसिक उल्झन र तनाउको मनोविश्लेषणात्मक ढाँचामा गरिएको वर्णनले नै कथाको आद्योपान्त संरचना तयार भएको छ । चस्मा भनेको दृष्टि हो भने दोषी चस्मा भनेको दृष्टिदोष हो । राणाशासनजस्तो अत्याचारी वा अन्धकारपूर्ण व्यवस्थालाई सम्पूर्ण नेपालीहरू एकजुट भई फ्याँक्न वा उखेल्न छाडेर त्यसकै चाकरीमा लागी जीवन निर्वाह गर्न तम्सने नेपालीहरूको दृष्टि दोषी वा भ्रमात्मक वा बेठीक छ । त्यस्तो दृष्टि कमजोर वा पावर कम भएको चस्माको जस्तै अस्पष्ट र दुःखदायी हुन्छ । त्यसैले राणाशासनलाई हेर्ने हाम्रो दृष्टि वा चस्मा चाँडै फेरेर जनतालाई कुशासन र अप्रजातान्त्रिक व्यवस्थाको दासतापूर्ण जीवनबाट मुक्ति दिलाउनुपर्छ भन्ने सन्देश यस कथाको शीर्षक र कथ्यले दिएको छ । त्यस्तो कुव्यवस्थाका पृष्ठपोषकलाई जतिसुकै चाकरी र भक्ति गरे पनि नेपाली जनताले 'ग्लानि' बाहेक केही पाउन सक्तैनन् भन्ने निष्कर्ष राणाशासनविरोधी तथा प्रजातन्त्रवादी कथाकार कोइरालाले कथाको अन्तमा व्यङ्ग्यात्मक शब्दमा प्रकट गरेबाट प्राप्त हुन्छ । वस्तुतः राणाशासनप्रति मानसिक तहदेखि नै घृणा उमार्ने उद्देश्य लिएर लेखिएको कथा भनी 'दोषी चस्मा' लाई बुझ्न सकिन्छ ।

७. निष्कर्ष

'दोषी चस्मा' कथाकार विश्वेश्वरप्रसाद कोइरालाको सर्वोत्कृष्ट मनोविश्लेषणात्मक कथा हो । राणाकालीन सामाजिक परिवेशमा बाँचेका केशवराजजस्ता दिनरात मानसिक उत्पीडनमा पिल्सिने नेपालीहरूको कारुणिक अवस्थाको मार्मिक चित्रण यसमा भएको पाइन्छ । यसले मूलतः व्यक्तिको असामान्य मनोविज्ञानको कलात्मक प्रस्तुति गरेको छ । यसबाट कथाकार कोइराला फ्रायडीय मनोविश्लेषण सिद्धान्त अत्यन्त सफल रूपमा प्रयोग गर्न सक्षम अद्वितीय प्रतिभाका रूपमा नेपाली

साहित्यको आख्यान परम्परामा अविस्मरणीय रहन पुगेका छन् । उनको 'दोषी चस्मा' कथाले त्यही पात्रगत भूमिकाका आधारमा अन्तरमनलाई केलाउन सफल भएको छ । सुन्दर कथाशिल्पीमा सजाएर कथाकारले पात्रगत हीनताग्रन्थ र संवेगको प्रस्तुतिका आधारमा अन्तरमनको असामान्य पक्षलाई प्रश्रय दिएको ठहर हुन्छ ।

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माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा कोशीय संसक्ति

डा. केशव भुसाल*

सार

प्रस्तुत लेख आख्यानमात्रक विधाअन्तर्गत पर्ने कथा विधामा प्रयुक्त कोशीय संसक्तिको अध्ययन विश्लेषणमा आधारित रहेको छ । वस्तुतः यसअन्तर्गत माध्यमिक तह (कक्षा नौ र दश) मा समाविष्ट कथाहरूमा प्रयुक्त कोशीय संसक्ति र यसअन्तर्गतका विविध भेदहरूको सूक्ष्म समीक्षण गरिएको छ । यस अध्ययनमा मूलतः भाषावैज्ञानिक ट्यालिडे र हडसनद्वारा प्रस्तुत संसक्तिसम्बन्धी सैद्धान्तिक अवधारणालाई अध्ययनको आधारका रूपमा लिइएको छ । यस क्रममा पुनरुक्ति र सन्निधानजस्ता कोशीय संसक्तिको अध्ययन गरिएको छ, जसमध्ये पुनरुक्तिअन्तर्गत पुनरावृत्ति, पर्यायवाची, विपरीतार्थी, समावेशी-समावेश्य र अङ्गी-अङ्गको पहिचान र विश्लेषण गरिएको छ भने सन्निधानअन्तर्गत भाषिक शब्दहरूका बिच सान्निध्य सम्बन्ध स्थापित गर्ने कोशीय सिक्रीहरूको सूक्ष्म अन्वेषण गरिएको छ । यस क्रममा माध्यमिक तहका कथा विधामा प्रयुक्त कोशीय संसक्तिको स्थिति, विशेषता र पाठरचनामा तिनले खेलेको भूमिका अध्ययनलाई विशेष जोड दिइएको छ । प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा मिश्रित अनुसन्धान विधि (परिमाणात्मक र गुणात्मक) को अवलम्बन गरिएको छ । यस अध्ययनबाट आख्यानमात्रक सङ्कथन वा रचनामा प्रयोग हुने कोशीय संसक्ति र तिनको भूमिकाबारे जानकारी प्राप्त गर्न मद्दत पुग्ने अपेक्षा गरिएको छ ।

मुख्य शब्दावली : आख्यान, कोशीय संसक्ति, सङ्कथन, सङ्कथन विश्लेषण, संसक्ति ।

१. विषय परिचय

सङ्कथन कुनै खास विषय सन्दर्भमा प्रयुक्त भाषिक अभिव्यक्ति हो । परम्परागत व्याकरणमा वाक्यलाई भाषाको सबभन्दा ठूलो एकाइ मानिए पनि आधुनिक भाषाविज्ञानले सङ्कथनलाई भाषाको ठूलो एकाइका रूपमा, सन्दर्भपूर्ण भाषिक प्रयोगका रूपमा र वास्तविक भाषा प्रयोगका रूपमा चर्चा

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गरेको पाइन्छ । नुनन (सन् १९९३ : ५) का अनुसार सङ्कथन कुनै खास विषय क्षेत्रसँग सम्बन्धित पृथक्-पृथक् वाक्यमा अन्तर्भूत आशयको भाषिक विस्तार वा फैलाउ हो । यो कथ्य-लेख्य र साङ्केतिक रूपमा व्यक्त हुन्छ । आकृतिका दृष्टिले यो भाषाको लघु रूप (सूक्ति, सन्देशमूलक उक्ति आदि) देखि लिएर बृहत् रूप (उपन्यास, महाकाव्य आदि) सम्म विस्तारित हुन्छ । कुक (सन् १९९६ : ७) का अनुसार सङ्कथन एक वा एकभन्दा बढी सुसंरचित व्याकरणिक वाक्यहरूबाट निर्मित हुन्छ । यसले व्याकरणका नियमलाई साधन वा माध्यमका रूपमा व्याख्या गर्छ । अतः सङ्कथनले विषय वा सन्दर्भकेन्द्रित भाषिक प्रयोगको आवश्यक व्यवहारलाई दर्साउँछ । यसको अध्ययन सङ्कथन विश्लेषणान्तर्गत रहेर गरिन्छ ।

प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा माध्यमिक तहको नेपाली भाषापाठ्यपुस्तकमा समाविष्ट कथाहरूलाई भाषावैज्ञानिक ह्यालिडे र हड्सन (सन् १९७६) द्वारा प्रस्तुत संसक्तिगत सैद्धान्तिक अवधारणाका आधारमा अध्ययन विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । वस्तुतः सङ्कथन विश्लेषणका सन्दर्भमा पाश्चात्य जगत्मा उल्लेख्य मात्रामा अध्ययन अनुसन्धान गरिएको पाइए पनि नेपालका सन्दर्भमा भने यसबारे गहन अध्ययन अनुसन्धान भएको पाइँदैन । वास्तवमा साहित्यिक रचनाहरू साङ्कथनिक संसक्ति र संयुक्तिको युक्तियुक्त प्रयोग व्यवहारबाट मात्र स्तरीय, उपयुक्त र बोध्य हुने हुन्छन् । संसक्ति र संयुक्तिको अभावमा साहित्यिक रचनाका पाठहरू ग्राह्य बन्न सक्दैनन् । यही वस्तुतालाई हृदयङ्गम गरी प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा सङ्कथनका दुई युक्तिमध्येको संसक्ति युक्तिलाई र त्यसान्तर्गतको कोशीय संसक्तिलाई नवीन अनुसन्धेय विषयका रूपमा लिई अध्ययन विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । मूलतः सङ्कथनमा वाक्यीय (जटिल), अन्तर्वाक्यीय सम्बन्ध दर्साउन आउने भाषिक युक्तिलाई संसक्ति भनिन्छ । संसक्तिले कथ्य वा लेख्य पाठभित्रका भाषिक एकाइ (वाक्यहरू) लाई परस्परमा सम्बन्धित तुल्याउने कार्य गर्दछ । स्टब्ज (सन् २००१ : ३०६) का अनुसार संसक्तिले पाठको सतही संरचनामा उपलब्ध हुने भाषिक विशेषतालाई निर्देश गर्दछ । विशेषतः संसक्ति युक्तिको अनुभूति भाषिक रूपमा हुन्छ र त्यो स्थूल भाषिक अभिव्यक्तिमा सघन रूपमा देखापर्छ । ह्यालिडे र हड्सन (सन् १९९१ : २९३) का अनुसार कुनै पनि पाठमा पहिलो वाक्यबाहेकका प्रत्येक वाक्यमा संसक्तिको उपस्थिति रहेको हुन्छ जसले पाठमा प्रस्तुत विचारलाई एकत्रित गर्न र पाठलाई पाठ्यात्मक बनाउन विशिष्ट सहयोग पुऱ्याउँदछ । ह्याच (सन् १९९४ : २२३) का अनुसार संसक्ति युक्तिको प्रयोग पाठका अंशलाई विशेष मार्ग परम्परामा जोड्ने सिक्की वा डोरीका रूपमा गरिन्छ । संसक्तिले भाषिक अभिव्यक्ति वा पाठमा एकता र संयोजनीयताको भूमिका निर्वाह गर्दछ । यसलाई बुनोट अध्ययनको एउटा भागका रूपमा चर्चा गरिएको पाइन्छ ।

वाड र गुओ (सन् २०१४) का अनुसार संसक्तिको भूमिकाले बुनोटको सृजना गर्छ । यसले पाठ सृजनामा महत्त्वपूर्ण सहयोग पुऱ्याउँछ । सङ्कथनका एक भाग र अर्को भागलाई निरन्तर अभिव्यक्त गर्दछ । सङ्कथन संसक्तिले व्याकरणिक र कोशीय क्षेत्रलाई दर्साउँछ । यो हरेक भाषाका तत्त्वहरूको सम्बन्धमा विद्यमान हुन्छ । थोराट (सन् २००२ : ०२) का अनुसार संसक्तिको सम्बन्ध दृश्य व्याकरणिक सङ्केतसँग हुन्छ जसले अभिव्यक्तिलाई जोड्ने किलाको काम गर्छ । यस सम्बन्धी भाषिक-व्याकरणिक दक्षताको अभावमा श्रोता वा पाठकले महत्त्वपूर्ण संयोजन छुटाउन पुग्छ । परिणामस्वरूप व्यक्त आशयको बोधमा कठिनाई पैदा हुन्छ । ह्यालिडे र हड्सन (सन् १९९१ : ५) का अनुसार संसक्ति आंशिक रूपमा व्याकरणबाट र आंशिक रूपमा शब्दभण्डारबाट व्यक्त हुन्छ । यसबाट के पुष्टि हुन्छ

भने संसक्तिको एउटा प्रकार व्याकरणमा आधारित हुन्छ, जसलाई व्याकरणिक संसक्ति भनिन्छ, भने अर्को प्रकार शब्दार्थमा आधारित हुन्छ, जसलाई कोशीय संसक्ति भनिन्छ। सङ्कथनमा प्रयुक्त कोशीय वा शाब्दिक एकाइद्वारा सृजित संसक्तिलाई कोशीय संसक्ति भनिन्छ। कोशीय संसक्ति अव्याकरणिक संसक्ति हो र यो सङ्कथनान्तरिक युक्तिका रूपमा देखा पर्छ। ह्यालिडे र हड्सन (सन् १९९१ : २७४) का अनुसार कोशीय संसक्ति शब्दको छनोटबाट प्राप्त गरिने संसक्तात्मक प्रभाव हो। सङ्कथनमा वक्ता वा लेखकले कोशीय एकाइको चयनमार्फत संसक्तिको सृजना गर्छन्। यसका मध्यमबाट सङ्कथनमा एकत्व कायम हुन्छ। नुनन (सन् १९९३ : २८) का अनुसार कोशीय संसक्तिले पाठमा प्रयुक्त कुनै दुई शब्दको अर्थतात्त्विक सम्बन्धलाई विभिन्न आधारमा जनाउँछ। सङ्कथनमा कोशीय संसक्तिको आगमन पूर्वप्रस्तुत एकाइसँग सम्बन्धित एकाइको चयन गरेपश्चात् हुन्छ। विस्निएस्की (सन् २००६) का अनुसार सङ्कथन वा पाठमा अधिकांश कोशीय सम्बन्धहरू विषयप्रसङ्गको घेरामा सीमित हुन्छन् त्यसैले संसक्ति एकाइयुक्त पद, पदावलीहरू सम्बन्धित सङ्कथन वा पाठनिबद्ध हुन पुग्छन्। कोशीय संसक्तिले पाठात्मकता सृजनार्थ वस्तु, गुण, कार्य वा घटना जनाउने शब्दहरूका बिच आर्थी सम्बन्धगत भूमिका निर्वाह गर्दछ। होइ (सन् १९९१) का अनुसार कोशीय संयोजन संसक्तिको महत्त्वपूर्ण सग्लो रूप हो जसले सङ्कथन वा पाठमा विषयवस्तुको चालिस प्रतिशत वर्णनलाई जोड्ने कार्य गर्दछ। कोशीय संसक्तिले सङ्कथनलाई संसक्त मात्र नतुल्याई त्यसको क्षेत्र स्पष्ट पार्ने र लक्षित अर्थबोधका लागि सन्दर्भ प्रस्तुत गर्नमा समेत सहयोग पुऱ्याउने काम गर्दछ। यस कार्यार्थ प्रयुक्त हुने कोशीय संसक्तिमध्ये केही पूर्वप्रस्तुत एकाइको निकटस्थ र केही दूरस्थ भएर रहन्छन्। सङ्कथनमा शाब्दी चयन, आवृत्ति र वैकल्पिक प्रयोगले कोशीय संसक्ति निर्माण गरेको पाइन्छ। भाषावैज्ञानिक ह्यालिडे र हड्सन (सन् १९७६, १९९१) ले कोशीय संसक्तिका आधारभूत प्ररूप (प्रकार) उपलब्ध गराएका छन्। यसअन्तर्गत पुनरुक्ति/पुनर्कथन र साहचर्यात्मक/सन्निधान संसक्ति पर्दछन्। यिनलाई कोशीय संसक्तिका विशिष्ट प्रकार वा सैद्धान्तिक आधारका रूपमा लिइन्छ। यीमध्ये पुनरुक्तिअन्तर्गत पुनरावृत्ति, पर्यायवाची, विपरीतार्थी, समावेशी-समावेश्य र अङ्गी-अङ्ग पर्दछन् भने सन्निधानअन्तर्गत साहचर्यात्मक सम्बन्ध स्थापन गर्ने कोशीय शब्दहरू पर्दछन्। माध्यमिक तहका कथात्मक विधामा यी विविध किसिमका कोशीय संसक्ति र तीअन्तर्गतका विभिन्न भेदहरूको प्रयोग-व्यवहार गरिएको पाइन्छ। प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा माध्यमिक तहका कथामा प्रयुक्त कोशीय संसक्ति, तिनको प्ररूपगत स्थिति र भूमिकाको सूक्ष्म अध्ययन गरिएको छ।

२. अध्ययनको उद्देश्य

प्रस्तुत अध्ययनका विशिष्ट उद्देश्यहरू निम्नलिखित छन् :

- (क) माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा प्रयुक्त कोशीय संसक्तिको प्ररूपगत अध्ययन गर्नु
- (ख) उक्त तहका कथाहरूमा प्रयुक्त कोशीय संसक्तिको स्थिति र भूमिकाको व्याख्या गर्नु।

३. अध्ययन विधि

प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा अनुसन्धान विधिको निकै महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रहेको छ, जसले वैज्ञानिक र व्यवस्थित अनुसन्धानका लागि आवश्यक चरणहरू उपलब्ध गराएको छ । यस अध्ययनका क्रममा प्रयुक्त अनुसन्धान विधिलाई निम्न तीन भागमा वर्गीकरण गरिएको छ :

(क) तथ्याङ्क स्रोत

प्रस्तुत अध्ययनका लागि निम्न स्रोतबाट तथ्याङ्क सङ्कलन गरिएको छ :

- यस अध्ययनका लागि वि.सं. २०६४ को पाठ्यक्रमअन्तर्गत माध्यमिक तह (कक्षा ९ र १०) को नेपाली भाषापाठ्यपुस्तकमा समाविष्ट तीन-तीन ओटा कथाहरूबाट तथ्याङ्क सङ्कलन गरिएको छ ।
- यस क्रममा कक्षा नौबाट तीनोटा कथा (शिशिर र वसन्तको कथा, भविष्य निर्माण र खड्गबहादुर) र कक्षा दसबाट तीनओटा कथा (कर्तव्य, दोषी चस्मा र न्यायको पक्ष) गरी कुल छओटा कथाहरूलाई तथ्याङ्कका रूपमा लिइएको छ ।

(ख) तथ्याङ्क सङ्कलनको विधि र तरिका

प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा निम्न चरणको अवलम्बन गरी तथ्याङ्क सङ्कलन गरिएको छ :

- तथ्याङ्क स्रोतको अध्ययन
- कोशीय संसक्तिको टिपोट
- टिपोट गरिएका संसक्तिलाई कोशीय संसक्तिको सैद्धान्तिक प्ररूपगत आधारमा सामूहिकरण गरेर ।

(ग) तथ्याङ्क विश्लेषणको विधि र तरिका

प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा सङ्कलित तथ्याङ्कलाई मूलतः भाषावैज्ञानिक ह्यालिडे र हड्सन (सन् १९७६) द्वारा प्रस्तुत साङ्कथनिक संसक्तिसम्बद्ध मान्यताका आधारमा परिमाणात्मक र गुणात्मक रूपमा विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । यस क्रममा निम्न तरिकाको अवलम्बन गरिएको छ :

- तथ्याङ्क स्रोतको पुनःटङ्कन
- सङ्कलित तथ्याङ्कलाई कोशीय संसक्ति प्ररूप (प्रकार) मा वर्गीकरण
- सङ्कलित तथ्याङ्कलाई कोशीय संसक्तिअन्तर्गतका मुख्य भेद : पुनरुक्ति र सन्निधान तथा यीअन्तर्गतका विभिन्न उपभेदहरूमा समूहिकरण
- कथाहरूमा प्रयुक्त कोशीय संसक्तिको प्ररूपगत स्थिति र भूमिकाको पहिचान र अध्ययन

४. अध्ययनको महत्त्व

वस्तुतः माध्यमिक तहमा समावेश गरिएका साहित्यिक विधाहरू र तिनको शैक्षणिक उद्देश्य भनेको सिकारुमा सम्प्रेषणात्मक क्षमताको विकास गराउनु हो । क्यानल (सन् १९८३) का अनुसार सम्प्रेषणात्मक क्षमता विकासका लागि ज्ञानका चार क्षेत्र : व्याकरणिक सक्षमता, समाजभाषिक सक्षमता, सङ्कथन सक्षमता र प्रयोगपरक एवम् रणनीतिक सक्षमताको आवश्यकता पर्छ । जसमध्ये साङ्कथनिक सक्षमताको विकासका लागि व्याकरणिक तथा कोशीय संसक्ति युक्ति र तिनको प्रयोग व्यवहारगत सुझको आवश्यकता पर्दछ ।

“शिक्षणको एउटा ज्यादै महत्त्वपूर्ण पक्ष भनेको सङ्कथनको उत्पादन गर्नु हो । शिक्षकले शिक्षण गर्नुको र प्रशिक्षकले प्रशिक्षण दिनुको उद्देश्य विद्यार्थीलाई छानिएको शीर्षकबाट सुसङ्गत र सुसंयोजित तरिकाले कुरा गर्न सक्षम बनाउनु हो” (ह्यालिडे र हड्सन, १९९१ : ९५) । यसका लागि संसक्ति सम्बन्धी ज्ञान आवश्यक पर्ने हुन्छ । साङ्कथनिक संसक्तिको उपयुक्त सुझ र प्रयोग व्यवहारबाट साञ्चारिक तत्त्व वा अवयवको पहिचान गर्ने, विभिन्न विधा, शैली र भाषिक भेदको पहिचान र प्रयोग गर्ने, विचार निर्माण र वास्तविकता पहिचान र व्याख्याका लागि अन्तर्वैयक्तिक सम्बन्ध कायम गर्ने, विभिन्न साङ्कथनिक अभ्यासको मूल्य, उत्पत्ति र सामाजिक कार्यको पहिचान गर्ने लगायतका कार्यमा अपेक्षाकृत मद्दत मिल्दछ । प्रस्तुत अध्ययन माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा प्रयुक्त साङ्कथनिक संसक्ति र तिनको भूमिका अध्ययनमा आधारित रहेकाले यस क्षेत्रसँग सम्बन्धित सबैका लागि उपयोगी हुने अपेक्षा गरिएको छ ।

५. परिणाम र छलफल

५.१ माध्यमिक तहका कथामा कोशीय संसक्ति

माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा कोशीय संसक्तिअन्तर्गतका पुनरुक्ति र सन्निधान संसक्तिको प्रयोग गरिएको पाइन्छ । यस तहका कथाहरूमा पुनरुक्ति संसक्तिअन्तर्गतका पुनरावृत्ति, पर्यायवाची, विपरीतार्थी, समावेशी-समावेश्य र अङ्गी-अङ्ग तथा सन्निधान संसक्तिअन्तर्गतका विभिन्न साहचर्यात्मक कोशीय शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको छ । माध्यमिक तहका कथामा प्रयुक्त कोशीय संसक्ति र यीअन्तर्गतका विविध भेदहरूको प्रयुक्तिगत अवस्थाको अध्ययन निम्नानुसार गरिएको छ :

पुनरुक्ति (रिइटरेशन)

माध्यमिक तहको नेपाली भाषापाठ्यपुस्तकमा समाविष्ट कथाहरूमा कोशीय संसक्तिअन्तर्गत पर्ने पुनरुक्ति संसक्तिको प्रयोग गरिएको छ । सिद्धान्ततः पुनरुक्ति संसक्तिले सङ्कथनमा प्रयुक्त कोशीय एकाइको पुनर्कथनलाई जनाउँछ । साङ्कथनिक कोशीय एकाइलाई जस्ताको तस्तै आवृत्ति गरेर, सम्बन्धित अर्को शब्द वा निकट शब्दको प्रयोग गरेर, समावेश्य-समावेशी शब्दको अनुप्रयोगद्वारा र साधारण शब्द प्रस्तुत गरेर पुनर्व्यक्त गर्न सकिन्छ । नुनन (१९९३ : १२३) का अनुसार पुनरुक्तिले कोशीय वा शाब्दिक संसक्तिको त्यस स्वरूपलाई जनाउँछ जहाँ सम्बन्धित दुई एकाइले समान घटना वा अस्तित्व दर्साउँछन् । पुनरुक्ति संसक्तिबाट

साङ्कथनिक संसक्ततामा विशिष्ट सहयोग पुग्ने ठानिन्छ । साथै सन्दर्भपरक भाव ग्रहणमा समेत सघाउ पुग्ने देखिन्छ । ह्यालिडे र हड्सन (सन् १९७६, १९९१) ले आफ्नो ग्रन्थ 'कोहिजन इन इङ्गलिस' मा पुनरुक्ति कोशीय संसक्तिका चार प्रकार (पुनरावृत्ति, पर्यायवाची वा निकट पर्यायवाची, समावेशी-समावेश्य र साधारण शब्द) को चर्चा गरेका छन् भने 'ल्याङ्ग्विज कन्टेक्ट एन्ड टेक्स्ट : आस्पेक्ट अफ ल्याङ्ग्विज इन अ सोसियल सेमिओटिक पर्सपेक्टिभ' मा विपरीतार्थी (एन्टनिमी) र अङ्गीअङ्ग (मेरनिमी) लाई समेत समेटी पाँच प्रकार (पुनरावृत्ति, पर्यायवाची, विपरीतार्थी, समावेशी-समावेश्य र अङ्गी-अङ्ग) को चर्चा गरेका छन् । माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा पुनरुक्ति कोशीय संसक्तिका यी पाँचओटै प्रकारहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको पाइन्छ, जसलाई निम्नानुसार चर्चा गरिएको छ :

(क) पुनरावृत्ति (रिपिटेशन)

माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा पुनरुक्ति कोशीय संसक्तिअन्तर्गत पर्ने पुनरावृत्ति संसक्तिको प्रयोग गरिएको छ । सिद्धान्ततः पुनरावृत्ति संसक्तिले सङ्कथनमा प्रयुक्त कुनै कोशीय एकाइको आवृत्ति हुनुलाई जनाउँछ । ह्यालिडे (सन् १९८६ : ३१०) का अनुसार कोशीय संसक्तिको प्रत्यक्ष रूप कोशीय एकाइको पुनरावृत्ति हो । यो कुनै वस्तु, चिज, पदार्थ वा प्राणी जनाउन गरिने समान शब्दावृत्तिगत विशेषता हो । म्याक्कार्थी (सन् २०१० : ६५) का अनुसार पुनरावृत्ति भनेको कुनै एकाइलाई सङ्कथनका कुनै भागमा प्रत्यक्ष आवृत्ति गरेर भन्नु हो । यो कतिपय अवस्थामा आंशिक पुनरावृत्ति (सखरखण्ड = सखर, टेलिफोन = फोन आदि) का रूपमा पनि देखा पर्छ । माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा पुनरावृत्ति कोशीय संसक्तिको अत्यधिक प्रयोग-व्यवहार गरिएको पाइन्छ, जसमध्ये कक्षा नौमा समाविष्ट 'शिशिर र वसन्तको कथा' मा राजा, रानी, गुँड, भँगेरो, आहारा, बच्चा, भ्याल, पोथी, सौता, मनजस्ता शब्दहरू; 'भविष्य निर्माण' कथामा घर, गमला, तुडसुड, बस्ती, कप्तान, युद्ध, पार्वती, छोरा, स्वप्न, खेलजस्ता शब्दहरू र 'खड्गबहादुर' कथामा संस्था, योजना, खड्गबहादुर, कागत, युवती, स्वदेशी, चेली, दण्ड, हिरालाल, उद्धारजस्ता शब्दहरूको पुनरावृत्ति भएको पाइन्छ । कक्षा दशमा समाविष्ट 'कर्तव्य' कथामा सम्पत्ति, गरिबहरू, गाउँ, मुखिया, अन्याय, केटाकेटीहरू, दुनियाँ, खोला, मानिसहरू, लवेदाजस्ता शब्दहरू; 'दोषी चस्मा' कथामा चस्मा, आँखा, केशवराज, चाकरी, जर्साब, सवारी, सूर्य, आकाश, मोटर, पावरजस्ता शब्दहरू र 'न्यायको पक्ष' कथामा धौम्य, विदुर, पाण्डव, आश्रम, मानिस, पछुतो, नीति, युधिष्ठिर, धृतराष्ट्र, अन्धाजस्ता शब्दहरूको पुनरावृत्ति भएको देखिन्छ ।

(अ) पर्यायवाची (सिननिमी)

माध्यमिक तहमा समाविष्ट कथाहरूमा समानार्थी सम्बन्ध कायम राख्ने विभिन्न पर्यायवाची शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको पाइन्छ । वस्तुतः पर्यायवाची संसक्तिले भाषिक शब्दहरूका बिचको पर्याय सम्बन्धलाई दर्साउँछ । यसबाट साङ्कथनिक

अभिव्यक्तिमा एउटै कोशीय एकाइको आवृत्ति हटाउन र भाषाको विशाल शब्दभण्डारबाट मिल्दो शब्द छनोट गरी व्यक्त गर्न सघाउ पुग्ने हुन्छ । साथै साङ्कथनिक सरसता र शब्दप्रयोगगत विविधतामा समेत सहयोग पुग्ने देखिन्छ । पर्यायवाची शब्दहरू सङ्कथन वा पाठको जुनसुकै स्थानमा पनि प्रयोगयोग्य हुन्छन् । यद्यपि यिनले जनाउने अर्थ सम्बन्धित वस्तु वा विषयनिबद्ध नै हुन्छ । माध्यमिक तहमा समाविष्ट कथाहरूमा पर्यायवाची कोशीय शब्दहरूको प्रयोगबाट संरचनात्मक संसक्ति सृजना गरिएको देखिन्छ । जसमध्ये 'शिशिर र वसन्तको कथा' मा बच्चाहरू = छोराछोरीहरू, आहारा = चारो, विषाद = चिन्ता, सौताका छोराछोरी = बैरीका पोथ्रा, हृदय = दिलजस्ता पर्यायवाची शब्दहरू; 'भविष्य निर्माण' कथामा घर = गृह, युद्ध = क्रान्ति, कोसिस = चेष्टा, सन्देश = खबर, साढै = बडाजस्ता पर्यायवाची शब्दहरू र 'खड्गबहादुर' कथामा रोड = सडक, अर्थ = धन, युवती = महिला, अकमक्क = द्विविधा, जिज्ञासा = खुलदुलीजस्ता पर्यायवाची शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको छ । त्यस्तै 'कर्तव्य' कथामा गरीब = भोका-नाङ्गा/दुःखी-दरिद्री, जनता = मानिस, ढोका = दैलो, गाउँ = ग्राम, सारा = सबै जस्ता पर्यायवाची शब्दहरू; 'दोषी चस्मा' कथामा अलिक = निकै, बल = पावर, महल = दरबार, अगाडि = अघिल्लि, दुःखित = चिन्तितजस्ता पर्यायवाची शब्दहरू र 'न्यायको पक्ष' कथामा गम्भीर = धीर, हस्याङ्फस्याङ = हतपत्त, दाजु = दाइ, कङ्केर = गर्जेर, परिणाम = फलजस्ता पर्यायवाची शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको छ ।

(आ) विपरीतार्थी (एन्टिनिमी)

माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा परस्परमा आर्थी भिन्नता दर्साउने विपरीतार्थी कोशीय संसक्तिको प्रयोग गरिएको छ । सिद्धान्ततः सङ्कथनमा प्रयुक्त कोशीय एकाइका बिचको अमिल्दो वा उल्टो सम्बन्धलाई विपरीतार्थी भनिन्छ । विपरीतार्थी सम्बन्धले साङ्कथनिक भाषिक एकाइ वा अवयवका बिच विरोधी सम्बन्ध स्थापित गर्दछ । ट्यालिडे र हडसन (सन् १९९१ : ८०) का अनुसार विपरीतार्थीले अनुभूतिजन्य वा आनुभाविक अर्थको विपरीतता व्याख्या गर्दछ । 'सुन' र 'चाँदी' यस किसिमको आर्थी सम्बन्धका उदाहरण हुन् । सङ्कथन वा पाठको पहिलो वाक्यमा प्रयुक्त शब्दको विपरीतार्थी शब्द अर्को वाक्यमा आएमा त्यसले पारस्परिक आर्थी साङ्गुलीको निर्माण गर्ने हुन्छ । माध्यमिक तहमा समाविष्ट कथाहरूमा यस किसिमको भूमिकानिबद्ध विभिन्न विपरीतार्थी कोशीय शब्दहरूको प्रयोग-व्यवहारबाट संसक्ति कायम गरिएको पाइन्छ । माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमध्ये 'शिशिर र वसन्तको कथा' मा विपरीतार्थी कोशीय संसक्ति सृजनार्थ एकादेश = अर्को देश, राजा = रानी, बच्चा = माउ, पोथी = भाले, हडबडाई = नहडबडाई जस्ता विपरीतार्थी शब्दहरू; 'भविष्य निर्माण' कथामा रातो = हरियो, युद्ध = शान्ति, पति = पत्नी, दिन = रात, शान्ति = अशान्तिजस्ता विपरीतार्थी शब्दहरू र 'खड्गबहादुर' कथामा स्वदेशी = विदेशी, पछि = पहिले,

धैर्य = हडबड, शान्ति = क्रान्ति, अन्याय = न्यायजस्ता विपरीतार्थी शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको छ, भने 'कर्तव्य' कथामा पुरुष = आइमाई, जेठा = कान्छा, सेतो = रातो, छोरी = छोरा, पढेका = अशिक्षितजस्ता विपरीतार्थी शब्दहरू; 'दोषी चस्मा' कथामा निकै = कम, निराशा = आशा, पृथ्वी = आकाश, प्रश्न = उत्तर, घुइँचो = एकान्तजस्ता विपरीतार्थी शब्दहरू र 'न्यायको पक्ष' कथामा पिशाचनीति = धर्मनीति, भित्र = बाहिर, दाजु = भाइ, सत्यनाश = जय, न्याय = अन्यायजस्ता विपरीतार्थी कोशीय शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको पाइन्छ।

(इ) समावेशी-समावेश्य (हाइपनिमी)

माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा विभिन्न कोशीय एकाइको अर्थ समेट्ने समावेशी शब्द र त्यसअन्तर्गत समेटिने समावेश्य शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको पाइन्छ। वस्तुतः समावेशी- समावेश्य सम्बन्धलाई साधारण/सामान्य-विशिष्ट एवम् उच्च-निम्न सम्बन्धका रूपमा पनि व्याख्या गर्न सकिन्छ। जस्तै 'फलफूल' साधारण शब्द हो भने आँप, केरा, स्याउ, सुन्तला आदि विशिष्ट शब्द हुन्। सङ्कथन वा पाठमा समावेश्य शब्दको प्रयोग दुई वा सोभन्दा बढी हुन सक्छ। यद्यपि, ती एउटै वर्ग (समावेशी) को केन्द्रीयतामा रहेका हुन्छन्। यस्ता शब्दको प्रयोगबाट विचार वा अभिव्यक्तिलाई सन्दर्भ अनुकूल प्रस्तुत गर्न, विस्तार गर्न र थप स्पष्ट पार्न सहयोग पुग्दछ। माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा समावेशी-समावेश्य शब्दहरूको प्रयोगद्वारा कोशीय संसक्तिको स्थापन गरिएको छ। यस क्रममा कक्षा नौमा समाविष्ट 'शिशिर र वसन्तको कथा' मा देश : एकादेश, अर्को देश, राजकुमार : शिशिर, वसन्त, काल/समय : एक दिन, भोलिपल्ट, केहीबेर, केही दिन आदि, विवाह : दोस्रो विवाह, अर्को विवाह, पुनर्विवाह, कथा : शिशिर वसन्तको कथाजस्ता समावेशी-समावेश्य शब्दहरू; 'भविष्य निर्माण' कथामा बस्ती : घर, घर : सानो घर, एकतले घर, रड : रातो रड, हरियो रड, मानिस : कृष्णबहादुर, पार्वती, नरेश, केटाकेटी, स्त्रीसुलभ सौन्दर्य : शिक्षिता, गुणवतीजस्ता समावेशी-समावेश्य शब्दहरू र 'खड्गबहादुर' कथामा सडक : चितपुर रोड, संस्था : गोर्खा कल्याण संस्था, समय : सात बजे, ९/१० बजे, भर्खर, ६ वर्ष, पला, घडी, योजना : धन नचाहिने योजना, मानिस : खड्गबहादुर, हिरालाल, पुण्यप्रसाद, युवती, चेलीबेटी, महिला, छोरी, हतियार : खुकुरी, बन्चरोजस्ता समावेशी-समावेश्य शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको छ। त्यस्तै कक्षा दशमा समाविष्ट 'कर्तव्य' कथामा महान् पुरुष : गङ्गाधर, सम्पत्ति : अन्न, पैसा, खेत, गाउँ : दश गाउँ, मानिस : जनता, गङ्गाधर, कमला, श्रीधर, शशीधर, रमा लगायत, चाडबाड/धर्म संस्कृति : विहावर्तुन, किरियाश्राद्ध, दसैँतिहार, पूजापाठ, सप्ताह, पुराणजस्ता समावेशी-समावेश्य शब्दहरू; 'दोषी चस्मा' कथामा चस्मा : केशवराजको चस्मा, मानिस : केशवराज, जर्साब, केशवराजकी पत्नी, विचार : यो विचार, पहिलकै विचार, हिजोको विचार, चाकरी : जर्साबको चाकरी, सधैं :

एकदिन, धेरैदिन, अरू दिन, यतिका दिन, आज, भोलिजस्ता समावेशी-समावेश्य शब्दहरू र 'न्यायको पक्ष' कथामा पाण्डव : युधिष्ठिर, भीमसेन, अर्जुन, मानिस : धौम्य, विदुर, धृतराष्ट्र, दुर्योधन, युधिष्ठिर, भीमसेन, अर्जुन, लाहा, राज्य : हाम्रो राज्य, तेरो राज्य, नीति : पिशाचनीति, धर्मनीति, भाइहरू : भीमसेन, अर्जुनजस्ता समावेशी-समावेश्य कोशीय शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको छ ।

(ई) अङ्गी-अङ्ग (मेरनिमी)

माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा कोशीय संसक्ति सृजनार्थ विभिन्न अङ्गी-अङ्ग शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको छ । सिद्धान्ततः अङ्गी-अङ्ग सम्बन्धले सङ्कथनमा प्रयुक्त पूर्णवाची र अंशवाची शब्दका बिचको सम्बन्धलाई दर्साउँछ । अर्थात् 'अङ्गी' शब्दले कुनै वस्तु, व्यक्ति, प्राणी, पदार्थ वा सामग्रीलाई र 'अङ्ग' शब्दले त्यसअन्तर्गतका विभिन्न अंशलाई जनाउँदछ । यसमा सिङ्गो रूप (होल) र अंश रूप (पार्ट) का बिच सम्बन्ध स्थापित हुन्छ । ट्यालिडे र हड्सन (१९९१ : ८१) का अनुसार अङ्गी-अङ्ग सम्बन्धले पूर्ण-अंश सम्बन्धलाई दर्साउँदछ । जस्तै : बोतल 'अङ्गी' शब्द हो भने 'बिको वा बुजो' 'बोतल' को अङ्ग वा अंश स्वरूप हो । सङ्कथनमा प्रयुक्त हुने अङ्गी-अङ्ग एकाइका बिचको समन्वयले सङ्कथन थप संसक्त हुने मानिन्छ । माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा यस प्रकृतिका विविध अङ्गी-अङ्ग शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको छ । जसमध्ये 'शिशिर र वसन्तको कथा' मा देश : गाउँ, सहर, घर : भ्याल, ढोका, भँगेरो : चुच्चो, चुच्चा, प्वाँख, दरबार : खोपी, बैठक, राजगद्दी, जङ्गल : भिँजा, काँडाजस्ता अङ्गी-अङ्ग शब्दहरू, 'भविष्य निर्माण' कथामा दार्जिलिङ : तुङ्सुङ बस्ती, तुङ्सुङ बस्ती : घर, घर : छानो, भित्तो, सङ्घार, ढोका, भ्याल, कोठा, अखबार : खबर, पार्वती : हृदयजस्ता अङ्गी-अङ्ग शब्दहरू तथा 'खड्गबहादुर' कथामा गङ्गाधर : जिउ, औला, घर : ढोका, पूजाकोठा, भ्याल, दलान, बैठक, कोठा, गाउँ : मानिस, घर, लवेदा : फेर, केटाकेटी : गाला, चिउडो जस्ता अङ्गी-अङ्ग शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको पाइन्छ भने 'कर्तव्य' कथामा जिल्ला : गाउँ, बजार, मुरलीधर : शिर, काँध, ललाट, छाती, गोडा, गह, हृदय, परिधान : धोती, लवेदा, पटुका, टोपी, च्यादर, सुरुवाल, कुर्ता, श्रीधर : निधार, टाउको, हात, शरीर, हाडछाला, आँखा, गह, छाती, गोडा, बुलबुल : अग्र भागजस्ता अङ्गी-अङ्ग शब्दहरू; 'दोषी चस्मा' कथामा केशवराज : आँखा, फोक्सो, हात, औला, गोडा, हृदय, मुख, कान, टाउको, कम्मर, खुट्टा, दिन : बिहान, दिउँसो, साँझ, राति, मोटर : नम्बरप्लेट, क्यारेज बक्स, घर : कोठा, बुङ्गल, सिँढी, ढोका, भान्साघरजस्ता अङ्गी-अङ्ग शब्दहरू तथा 'न्यायको पक्ष' कथामा नदी : खोला, प्रकृति : वन, नदी, चराचुरुङ्गी, पानी, ढुङ्ग, धौम्य : हात, मुख, विदुर : मुख, आँखीभौँ, आँखा, हात, कन्सरी, ज्यान, दुर्योधन : हात, तालु, आड, दाह्राजस्ता अङ्गी-अङ्ग शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको देखिन्छ ।

माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा प्रयुक्त पुनरुक्ति कोशीय संसक्तिका उल्लिखित

भेदहरूको समग्र स्थितिलाई निम्नानुसार देखाउन सकिन्छ :

तालिका १ : माध्यमिक तहका कथामा पुनरुक्ति संसक्ति

पुनरुक्ति संसक्ति	पुनरावृत्ति		पर्यायवाची		विपरीतार्थी		समावेशी-समावेश्य		अङ्गी-अङ्ग	
	प्रयुक्त सङ्ख्या	प्रतिशत	प्रयुक्त सङ्ख्या	प्रतिशत	प्रयुक्त सङ्ख्या	प्रतिशत	प्रयुक्त	प्रतिशत	प्रयुक्त सङ्ख्या	प्रतिशत
अध्ययनीय कथाहरू										
शिशिर र वसन्तको कथा	४३७	८४.५२%	२७	५.२२%	२४	४.६४%	१३	२.५१%	१६	३.१९%
भविष्य निर्माण	११४	७१.२५%	७	४.३७%	१३	८.१२%	१४	८.७५%	१२	७.५%
खड्गवाहादुर	८८	६२.४१%	२१	१४.८९%	९	६.३८%	१३	९.२१%	१०	७.२९%
कर्तव्य	३४६	८०.२७%	२५	५.८०%	१९	४.४०%	१८	४.१७%	२३	५.३३%
दोषी चस्मा	२३३	७८.७१%	१८	६.०८%	१४	४.७२%	२७	९.१२%	४	१.३५%
न्यायको पक्ष	७९	७०.५३%	८	७.१४%	१०	८.९२%	७	६.२५%	८	७.१४%

उल्लिखित तालिकाअनुसार माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा प्रयुक्त पुनरुक्ति कोशीय संसक्तिमध्ये 'शिशिर र वसन्तको कथा' मा ८४.५२ प्रतिशत पुनरावृत्ति, ५.२२ प्रतिशत पर्यायवाची, ४.६४ प्रतिशत विपरीतार्थी, २.५१ प्रतिशत समावेशी-समावेश्य र ३.१९ प्रतिशत अङ्गी-अङ्ग कोशीय संसक्ति; 'भविष्य निर्माण' कथामा ७१.२५ प्रतिशत पुनरावृत्ति, ४.३७ प्रतिशत पर्यायवाची, ८.१२ प्रतिशत विपरीतार्थी, ८.७५ प्रतिशत समावेशी-समावेश्य र ७.५ प्रतिशत अङ्गी-अङ्ग कोशीय संसक्ति तथा 'खड्गबहादुर' कथामा ६२.४१ प्रतिशत पुनरावृत्ति, १४.८९ प्रतिशत पर्यायवाची, ६.३८ प्रतिशत विपरीतार्थी, ९.२१ प्रतिशत समावेशी-समावेश्य र ७.२९ प्रतिशत अङ्गी-अङ्ग कोशीय संसक्तिको प्रयोग गरिएको छ भने 'कर्तव्य' कथामा ८०.२७ प्रतिशत पुनरावृत्ति, ५.८० प्रतिशत पर्यायवाची, ४.४० प्रतिशत विपरीतार्थी, ४.१७ प्रतिशत समावेशी-समावेश्य र ५.३३ प्रतिशत अङ्गी-अङ्ग कोशीय संसक्ति; 'दोषी चस्मा' कथामा ७८.७१ प्रतिशत पुनरावृत्ति, ६.०८ प्रतिशत पर्यायवाची, ४.७२ प्रतिशत विपरीतार्थी, ९.१२ प्रतिशत समावेशी-समावेश्य र १.३५ प्रतिशत अङ्गी-अङ्ग कोशीय संसक्ति तथा 'न्यायको पक्ष' कथामा ७०.५३ प्रतिशत पुनरावृत्ति, ७.१४ प्रतिशत पर्यायवाची, ८.९२ प्रतिशत विपरीतार्थी, ६.२५ प्रतिशत समावेशी-समावेश्य र ७.१४ प्रतिशत अङ्गी-अङ्ग कोशीय संसक्तिको प्रयोग गरिएको छ ।

(ख) सन्निधान (कलकेइसन)

माध्यमिक तहको नेपाली भाषापाठ्यपुस्तकमा समाविष्ट कथाहरूमा कोशीय संसक्तिको अर्को प्ररूप सन्निधान संसक्तिको समेत प्रयोग-व्यवहार गरिएको पाइन्छ । सिद्धान्ततः सन्निधान संसक्तिले सङ्कथनमा प्रयुक्त कोशीय एकाइका बिचको साहचर्यात्मक सम्बन्धलाई जनाउँदछ । अर्थात्, यसले सङ्कथनमा एकैपटक वा साथसाथै प्रयोगमा आउने एकाइको सान्निध्यतालाई दर्साउँदछ । विस्नेस्की (सन् २००६) का अनुसार सन्निधान त्यस्तो युक्ति हो जसमा निश्चित शब्दहरू आपसमा आउँछन् । यसअन्तर्गत आउने भाषिक एकाइहरू तिनमा निहित अर्थका कारण परस्परमा सम्बन्धित हुन्छन् । सङ्कथन वा पाठमा निकट कोशीय घटकहरू मूलतः वाक्यान्तरिक भएर देखा पर्छन् । सन्निधान सृजनार्थ प्रयुक्त हुने त्यस्ता भाषिक तत्त्वहरूले सङ्कथनलाई एकीकृत र सार्थक तुल्याउन महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निर्वाह गरेका हुन्छन् । सङ्कथनमा भाषिक एकाइका जोडा वा शब्दयुग्म आवश्यक रूपमा स्वतन्त्र नभई एकापसमा अन्तर्सम्बन्धित भई प्रयुक्त हुँदा सन्निधानात्मक स्थिति पैदा हुने हुन्छ । म्याक्क्यार्थी (सन् २०१० : ६५) का अनुसार “सन्निधानले कोशीय संसक्तिको आशय ठीकसँग प्रस्तुत गर्दछ । यसमा सम्बन्धित कोशीय एकाइ एकैपटक घटित हुन्छ ।” वस्तुतः सन्निधान त्यस्तो कोशीय संसक्ति हो जुन यस पूर्व चर्चा गरिएका कुनै पनि कोशीय संसक्तिका प्रकारमा आधारित हुँदैन । खास एकाइका बिचको सान्निध्य सम्बन्धमा आधारित हुन्छ । माध्यमिक तहका

कथाहरूमा सान्निध्य सम्बन्ध सृजनार्थ विभिन्न किसिमका साहचर्यात्मक सम्बन्धयुक्त कोशीय शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको छ । जसमध्ये कक्षा नौमा रहेका 'शिशिर र वसन्तको कथा' मा भँगेरो - गुँड, व्याधा - गुलेली, कालो बादल - अन्धकार, रानी-दरबार, राजगद्दी - राजाजस्ता साहचर्यात्मक शब्दहरू; 'भविष्य निर्माण' कथामा घर-आँगन, गमला - चमेलिया, ढोका/भ्याल - पर्दा, घर - मानिस, युद्ध - पल्टनजस्ता साहचर्यात्मक शब्दहरू तथा 'खड्गबहादुर' कथामा सभा - छलफल, महल - ढोके, होटल - भाडमभुवा, अग्नि - पुरोडास, संस्था - सदस्यजस्ता साहचर्यात्मक शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको पाइन्छ । कक्षा दशमा रहेका 'कर्तव्य' कथामा चुलो - आगो, गरिब - भुपडी, धर्म - संस्कृति, धोती - लबेदा, शिर - टोपीजस्ता साहचर्यात्मक शब्दहरू; 'दोषी चस्मा' कथामा आँखा - चस्मा, चस्मा - पावर, चाकरी - चाकरिया, सूर्य - रश्मि, सुरुवाल - गोडाजस्ता साहचर्यात्मक शब्दहरू तथा न्यायको पक्ष कथामा नदी - किनार, शासक - नीति, सर्प - विष, न्याय - न्यायी, मुख - थुकजस्ता साहचर्यात्मक शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको देखिन्छ । कथामा प्रयुक्त यी र यी प्रकृतिका विभिन्न सन्निधानात्मक शब्दहरूले माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूलाई संरचनात्मक दृष्टिले सुसंरचित एवम् सङ्गठित तुल्याउन महत्तम भूमिका निर्वाह गरेका छन् । जसको परिणामस्वरूप माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरू थप संसक्त बन्न पुगेका छन् ।

माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा प्रयुक्त सन्निधान कोशीय संसक्तिको स्थितिलाई निम्नानुसार तालिकामा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ :

तालिका २ : माध्यमिक तहका कथामा सन्निधान संसक्ति

अध्ययनीय कथाहरू	सन्निधान संसक्ति : प्रयुक्त सङ्ख्या
शिशिर र वसन्तको कथा	१६
भविष्य निर्माण	१०
खड्गबहादुर	१७
कर्तव्य	३२
दोषी चस्मा	१४
न्यायको पक्ष	७

माथिको तथ्यअनुसार 'शिशिर र वसन्तको कथा' मा कुल १६ ओटा, 'भविष्य निर्माण' कथामा १० ओटा र 'खड्गबहादुर' कथामा १७ ओटा साहचर्यात्मक शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको पाइन्छ भने 'कर्तव्य' कथामा ३२ ओटा, 'दोषी चस्मा' कथामा १४ ओटा र 'न्यायको पक्ष' कथामा ७ ओटा सान्निध्य सम्बन्धयुक्त शब्दहरूको प्रयोग-व्यवहार गरिएको देखिन्छ ।

समग्रतः माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा प्रयुक्त कोशीय संसक्तिको स्थितिलाई निम्नानुसार

देखाउन सकिन्छ :

तलिका ३ : माध्यमिक तहका कथामा कोशीय संसक्ति

कोशीय संसक्ति	पुनरुक्ति		सन्निधान	
	प्रयुक्त सङ्ख्या	प्रतिशत	प्रयुक्त सङ्ख्या	प्रतिशत
अध्ययनीय कथाहरू				
शिशिर र वसन्तको कथा	५१७	९६.९९%	१६	३.००%
भविष्य निर्माण	१६०	९४.११%	१०	५.८८%
खड्गबहादुर	१४१	८९.२४%	१७	१०.७५%
कर्तव्य	४३१	९३.०८%	३२	६.९१%
दोषी चस्मा	२९६	९५.४८%	१४	४.५१%
न्यायको पक्ष	११२	९४.११%	७	५.८८%

उल्लिखित तालिकाअनुसार माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा प्रयुक्त कोशीय संसक्तिका प्ररूपहरू : पुनरुक्ति र सन्निधानमध्ये 'शिशिर र वसन्तको कथा' मा ९६.९९ प्रतिशत पुनरुक्ति र ३.०० प्रतिशत सन्निधान संसक्ति, 'भविष्य निर्माण' कथामा ९४.११ प्रतिशत पुनरुक्ति र ५.८८ प्रतिशत सन्निधान संसक्ति तथा 'खड्गबहादुर' कथामा ८९.२४ प्रतिशत पुनरुक्ति र १०.७५ प्रतिशत सन्निधान संसक्तिको प्रयोग भएको देखिन्छ भने 'कर्तव्य' कथामा ९३.०८ प्रतिशत पुनरुक्ति र ६.९१ प्रतिशत सन्निधान संसक्ति, 'दोषी चस्मा' कथामा ९५.४८ प्रतिशत पुनरुक्ति र ४.५१ प्रतिशत सन्निधान संसक्ति तथा 'न्यायको पक्ष' कथामा ९४.११ प्रतिशत पुनरुक्ति र ५.८८ प्रतिशत सन्निधान संसक्तिको प्रयोग गरिएको देखिन्छ ।

६. विश्लेषण

प्रस्तुत अध्ययनको मूलभूत उद्देश्य माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा प्रयुक्त कोशीय संसक्तिको अध्ययन गरी तिनको प्ररूपगत स्थिति र भूमिकाको अध्ययन गर्नु रहेको थियो । प्रस्तुत अध्ययनका आधारमा हेर्दा माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा भाषावैज्ञानिक ह्यालिडे र हड्सन (सन् १९७६) द्वारा प्रस्तुत कोशीय संसक्तिका मुख्य दुई प्ररूप : पुनरुक्ति र सन्निधान संसक्तिको प्रयोग गरिएको पाइन्छ । जसमध्ये पुनरुक्ति कोशीय संसक्तिको प्रयोग अत्यधिक अर्थात् करिब ९३ प्रतिशत रहेको देखिन्छ भने सन्निधान कोशीय संसक्तिको प्रयोग अत्यन्त कम अर्थात् करिब ७ प्रतिशत रहेको पाइन्छ । माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा प्रयुक्त पुनरुक्ति कोशीय संसक्तिअन्तर्गतका विभिन्न भेदहरूको प्रयोग-व्यवहारलाई सूक्ष्म रूपमा नियाल्दा 'शिशिर र वसन्त' को कथामा पुनरावृत्ति संसक्तिको अत्यधिक अर्थात् ८४.५२ प्रतिशत र त्यसपछि क्रमशः पर्यायवाची (५.२२ प्रतिशत), विपरीतार्थी (४.६४ प्रतिशत), अङ्गी-अङ्ग (३.१९

प्रतिशत) र समावेशी-समावेश्य कोशीय संसक्तिको प्रयोग (२.५१ प्रतिशत) गरिएको छ । ‘भविष्य निर्माण’ कथामा सबैभन्दा बढी अर्थात् ७१.२५ प्रतिशत पुनरावृत्ति र त्यसपछि क्रमशः समावेशी-समावेश्य (८.७५ प्रतिशत), विपरीतार्थी (८.१२ प्रतिशत), अङ्गी-अङ्ग (७.५ प्रतिशत) र पर्यायवाची कोशीय संसक्तिको प्रयोग (४.३७ प्रतिशत) गरिएको छ । त्यस्तै ‘खड्गबहादुर’ कथामा पुनरावृत्ति संसक्तिको अत्यधिक अर्थात् ६२.४१ प्रतिशत र तत्पश्चात् क्रमशः पर्यायवाची (१४.८९ प्रतिशत), समावेशी-समावेश्य (९.२१ प्रतिशत), अङ्गी-अङ्ग (७.२९) र विपरीतार्थी कोशीय संसक्तिको प्रयोग (६.३८ प्रतिशत) गरिएको छ भने ‘कर्तव्य’ कथामा सबैभन्दा बढी अर्थात् ८०.२७ प्रतिशत पुनरावृत्ति संसक्तिको प्रयोग र त्यसपछि क्रमशः पर्यायवाची (५.८० प्रतिशत), अङ्गी-अङ्ग (५.३३ प्रतिशत), विपरीतार्थी (४.४० प्रतिशत) तथा समावेशी-समावेश्य कोशीय संसक्तिको प्रयोग (४.१७ प्रतिशत) गरिएको छ । त्यसैगरी ‘दोषी चस्मा’ कथामा पुनरावृत्ति कोशीय संसक्तिको अत्यधिक अर्थात् ७८.७१ प्रतिशत र तत्पश्चात् क्रमशः समावेशी-समावेश्य (९.१२ प्रतिशत), पर्यायवाची (६.८ प्रतिशत), विपरीतार्थी (४.७२ प्रतिशत) र अङ्गी-अङ्ग कोशीय संसक्तिको प्रयोग (१.३५ प्रतिशत) गरिएको छ भने ‘न्यायको पक्ष’ कथामा सबैभन्दा बढी अर्थात् ७०.५३ प्रतिशत पुनरावृत्ति कोशीय संसक्तिको प्रयोग र तत्पश्चात् क्रमशः विपरीतार्थी (८.९२ प्रतिशत), पर्यायवाची (७.२४ प्रतिशत), अङ्गी-अङ्ग (७.१४ प्रतिशत) र समावेशी-समावेश्य कोशीय संसक्तिको प्रयोग (६.२५ प्रतिशत) गरिएको छ ।

माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा प्रयुक्त पुनरुक्ति कोशीय संसक्तिका विविध भेदहरूको उल्लिखित तथ्यलाई हेर्दा सर्वत्र समान क्रममा संसक्ति प्रयोगको स्थिति देखिँदैन । तापनि, पुनरुक्ति कोशीय संसक्तिका विविध भेदहरूको प्रयोग-व्यवहारलाई अनुपातमा नियाल्दा सबैभन्दा बढी पुनरावृत्ति पुनरुक्तिको प्रयोग (करिब ७४ प्रतिशत) र तत्पश्चात् क्रमशः पर्यायवाची (करिब ७ प्रतिशत), समावेशी-समावेश्य (करिब ६ प्रतिशत), विपरीतार्थी (करिब ६ प्रतिशत) र अङ्गी-अङ्ग (करिब ५ प्रतिशत) कोशीय संसक्तिको प्रयोग गरिएको पाइन्छ ।

माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा प्रयुक्त तथोक्त विविध प्रकृतिका कोशीय संसक्तिले सम्बन्धित कथाहरूमा आई संरचनात्मक सिक्रीको कार्य सम्पादन गरेका छन् । यस क्रममा पुनरुक्ति कोशीय संसक्तिले सङ्कथनमा पूर्वप्रयुक्त कोशीय एकाइलाई समान, समानार्थी, भिन्नार्थी, सम्बन्धित एवम् आङ्गिक तात्पर्यमा सन्दर्भित तुल्याएर र सन्निधान कोशीय संसक्तिले निकटस्थ भाषिक एकाइसँग साहचर्यात्मक सम्बन्ध कायम गरेर संरचनात्मक साङ्गेलीको कार्य सम्पादन गरेका छन् । यसका साथै कथात्मक संरचनालाई एकीकृत तुल्याएका छन् जसको परिणामस्वरूप माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरू सुगठित एवम् संसक्त बन्न पुगेका छन् ।

७. निष्कर्ष

प्रस्तुत अध्ययनबाट प्राप्त परिणामका आधारमा हेर्दा माध्यमिक तहका कथाहरूमा प्रयुक्त कोशीय संसक्ति र तिनको प्रयोगगत अवस्था सम्बन्धमा केही महत्वपूर्ण तथ्यहरू प्राप्त भएका छन् । वस्तुतः माध्यमिक तहको नेपाली भाषापाठ्यपुस्तकमा समाविष्ट कथाहरूमा कोशीय संसक्तिका दुईओटै प्ररूप

: पुनरुक्ति र सन्निधान संसक्तिको प्रयोग गरिएको छ । यसमा पुनरुक्ति कोशीय संसक्तिअन्तर्गत पुनरावृत्ति, पर्यायवाची, विपरीतार्थी, समावेशी-समावेश्य र अङ्गी-अङ्ग संसक्तिको प्रयोग गरिएको छ । सन्निधान संसक्तिअन्तर्गत चाहिँ परस्परमा साहचर्यात्मक सम्बन्ध कायम गर्ने विभिन्न शब्दहरूको प्रयोग गरिएको छ । यस तहका कथाहरूमा प्रयुक्त कोशीय संसक्तिको समग्र स्थितिलाई अवलोकन गर्दा सन्निधान संसक्तिका तुलनामा पुनरुक्ति कोशीय संसक्तिको अत्यधिक प्रयोग गरिएको पाइन्छ भने पुनरुक्ति कोशीय संसक्तिका विविध भेदमध्ये पुनरावृत्ति संसक्तिको अधिक प्रयोग गरिएको देखिन्छ । यस आधारमा नेपाली भाषाका आख्यानमा विधाका पाठ वा रचनाहरूमा कोशीय संसक्तिअन्तर्गत पुनरुक्ति कोशीय संसक्तिको अत्यधिक प्रयोग हुने र यसअन्तर्गतका विविध भेद प्रयोगका सन्दर्भमा पुनरावृत्ति संसक्तिको उल्लेख्य प्रयोग हुने कुरा निर्व्योल गर्न एवम् साधारणीकरण गर्न सकिन्छ ।

सन्दर्भ सामग्री सूची

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पठन सिप विकासमा प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको सान्दर्भिकता

रमेश भट्टराई

सार

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको योजना र विकासमा आधारित छ । उक्त कार्यक्रमको सान्दर्भिकतालाई शैक्षिक गुणस्तर अभिवृद्धिका हिसाबले मूल्याङ्कन गर्नु नै यस अध्ययनको उद्देश्य रहेको छ । यस कार्यक्रमसँग सम्बन्धित आधार सामग्री, तालिम स्रोत सामग्री, मार्गदर्शनलगायत अन्य मातृभाषा विषयक द्वितीयक स्रोत सामग्रीलाई आधार मानेर गुणात्मक अध्ययन विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । विद्यार्थीको सिकाइमा केन्द्रित भई शिक्षाको गुणस्तर सुधार गर्ने मूल उद्देश्य अनुरूप नेपाल सरकार, शिक्षा मन्त्रालयले पञ्चवर्षीय कार्यक्रमको रूपमा आ.व. २०७१/०७२ देखि आधारभूत तह (कक्षा १-३) मा यस कार्यक्रमको थालनी गरेको हो । यसले 'बुझेर पढ्ने र पढेर बुझ्ने' मान्यताका आधारमा प्रारम्भिक तहमा पढाइ सिप राम्रो भएमा समग्र शिक्षाको जग बलियो हुन्छ भन्ने अवधारणालाई अधि सारेको छ । पठन संस्कृतिलाई व्यवस्थित विकास गर्ने गरी ६ ओटा तत्त्वलाई निर्दिष्ट गरेको यस कार्यक्रममा मातृभाषा शिक्षालाई विशेष जोड दिइएको छ । यिनै विषयवस्तुको महत्तालाई केन्द्रमा राखेर यस अध्ययनमा प्रारम्भिक तहमा पढाइ सिप विकासको आवश्यकता, मातृभाषा शिक्षा, नीति तथा यस कार्यक्रमको व्यावहारिकता लगायतका सन्दर्भलाई विश्लेषण गरिएको छ ।

मुख्य शब्दावली : पठनबोध, बालमनोविज्ञान, भाषिक न्याय, मातृभाषा, श्रुतिभाषिक पद्धति, साक्षरता ।

१. विषय परिचय

औपचारिक रूपमा सिकाइको सुरुवात पढाइबाट हुन्छ । भाषा सिकाइका चार सिपहरू (सुनाइ, बोलाइ, पढाइ र लेखाइ) मध्ये सुनाइ र बोलाइलाई प्राकृतिक तवरबाट सिकिएको हुन्छ । प्रारम्भिक

* रमेश भट्टराई आदर्श बहुमुखी क्याम्पस गजुरीमा नेपाली शिक्षा विभागका विभागीय प्रमुख हुनुहुन्छ । उहाँ ग्राजुएट स्कुल अफ एजुकेसनअन्तर्गत विद्यावारिधि शोधार्थी हुनुहुन्छ । ईमेल : bhattarairamesh353@gmail.com

तहको जगमा पढाइ सिपलाई राम्रोसँग विकास गर्ने हो भने माथिल्लो कक्षाको सिकाइमा सहज हुन्छ । शैक्षिक गुणस्तर सुधार गर्नका लागि पढाइ सिपको विकास गर्नुपर्छ भन्ने अवधारणाका रूपमा नेपाल सरकारले वि.सं. २०७० सालमा राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको दस्तावेजमा 'यस कार्यक्रमको थालनी जुलाई २०१४ देखि गर्ने योजना छ' भनी उल्लेख गरेको छ । यसै अनुरूप पञ्चवर्षीय कार्यक्रमको रूपमा आ.व. २०७१/०७२ (सन् २०१४/०१५) देखि अमेरिकी अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सहयोग नियोग (युएसएआइडी) को प्राविधिक तथा आर्थिक सहयोग लिई यो कार्यक्रम सञ्चालनमा आएको हो । यस कार्यक्रमले कक्षा १, २ र ३ का बालबालिका वा सो सरहका सामान्यतः ६ देखि ९ वर्ष उमेर समूहलाई पढाइ सिप विकासमा जोड दिन्छ । अक्षर ज्ञान, ध्वनि पहिचान, पठन प्रवाह, शब्द भण्डार, पठनबोध र लेखाइ सिप गरी ६ ओटा तत्त्वलाई व्यवस्थित ढङ्गले उपयोग गरेर पढाइ सिपको विकास गर्न सकिने मान्यतालाई यसले अघि सारेको छ । पढेका कुरालाई राम्ररी बुझ्नका लागि भाषाका कारणले अष्ट्यारो हुनु हुँदैन भन्ने मान्यता राखेर मातृभाषामा साक्षरता सिपको विकास गराउनुपर्ने संवैधानिक प्रावधानलाई यसले आत्मसात् गरेको छ ।

आधारभूत तहको शैक्षिक गुणस्तर सन्तोषजनक हुन नसक्नुका विविध कारणहरूमध्ये प्रारम्भिक कक्षाका विद्यार्थीहरूको पढाइ सिप तथा पढ्ने बानीको अपेक्षित विकास नहुनु पनि हो भन्ने निष्कर्षलाई स्वीकार गरिएको पाइन्छ । नेपालका आधारभूत तहका बालबालिकाको पढाइ स्तर कमजोर भएको राष्ट्रिय, अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय अनुसन्धानलाई ध्यानमा राखेर राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमलाई लागू गरिएको हो । यो कार्यक्रमको कार्यान्वयनले बालबालिकाको पढाइ क्षमता अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय स्तरको हुने अपेक्षा गरिएको छ (भुसाल, सन् २०२० : २२) । मानिसले दौडनुपूर्व हिँड्न सक्ने हुनु आवश्यक भए जसरी पढाइ सिपको विकास नगरी शिक्षाको गुणस्तरलाई विकास गर्न सकिँदैन । लिखित सामग्रीलाई अर्थबोध हुने गरी पढ्ने कार्यले सिकाइको पूर्वाधार विकास गर्दछ । आँखाका माध्यमबाट देखिएका चिन्हलाई दिमागसम्म पुर्‍याएर पढ्ने तथा वाच्य सञ्चार गर्ने धारणालाई विकसित तुल्याउन पढाइ सिप अनिवार्य सर्त हो । भाषिक सिपको विकासका लागि आधारभूत कक्षामा 'पढ्नका लागि सिकाइ' र त्यसपछि 'सिक्नका लागि पढाइ' भन्ने अवधारणालाई अपनाउनुपर्छ (रा.प्रा.क.प.का. तालिम स्रोत सामग्री, २०७५ : १) । पठन सिप विकासको कार्यलाई प्रभावकारी कार्यान्वयन गर्नका लागि यस कार्यक्रमले समाजसँग पनि सम्बन्ध राख्ने नीति लिएको छ ।

सन् १९८१ को ग्रामीण विकासका लागि सेती परियोजना हुँदै विद्यालय क्षेत्र सुधार योजनासम्ममा पनि सामुदायिक विद्यालयले अपेक्षित उपलब्धि हासिल गर्न सकेनन् (रा.प्रा.क.प.कार्यक्रमका लागि सामाजिक तथा सामुदायिक परिचालन रणनीति, सन् २०१७ : १) । पढाइ सिप विकासबाट पठनबोधको विकास हुन्छ । त्यसपछि सिकाइमा सुधार हुँदै जान्छ र यसबाट क्रमशः लेखाइ सिपमा टेवा पुग्छ । वस्तुतः समग्र शैक्षिक गुणस्तरलाई आधारभूत तहको पढाइ सिपले प्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव पार्छ । विद्यार्थी तल्लै तहबाट सक्षम हुन आवश्यक छ । यसो भएमा कमजोर भएको महसुस गरेर विद्यार्थीहरूले विद्यालय छाड्ने दर घट्न सक्ने तथा सिकाइमा रुचिको विकास हुन सक्ने विषयलाई अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय जगतले पनि अपनाउँदै आएको छ । यसै धारमा रहेर विद्यार्थीको पढाइको जगलाई विकसित तुल्याउँदै गहन पढाइ, पढेका कुरा राम्ररी बुझ्ने, बुझ्नेका कुरालाई मौखिक र लिखित

अभिव्यक्तिमार्फत अरू समक्ष पुर्‍याउने गरी पढाइ सिपको विकास गर्ने अपेक्षाका साथ नेपालमा राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको अवधारणालाई स्वीकार गरिएको छ । यसका साथमा वि.सं. २०७३/०७४-२०७९/०८० अन्तर्गतको विद्यालय क्षेत्र विकास योजना (२०७३) ले यस कार्यक्रमको उपयोगमा विशेष जोड दिँदै आएको छ । अतः यहाँ गुणात्मक अध्ययन विधिलाई उपयोग गरेर हाम्रो जस्तो विकासोन्मुख मुलुकका लागि प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको कार्यान्वयन, अपेक्षा तथा यसको सान्दर्भिकताका बारेमा विश्लेषण गरिएको छ ।

२. अध्ययनको उद्देश्य

कथ्य र मौखिक अभ्यासबाट सिकाइलाई विकसित तुल्याउन पढाइको आवश्यकता अपरिहार्य हुन्छ । बोध र अभिव्यक्ति क्षमताको विकास गर्न पठन सिप पहिलो खुट्टिको बन्छ । यसै विषयमा केन्द्रित रहेर पढाइ सिपको महत्तालाई केलाउँदै प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको सान्दर्भिकतालाई शैक्षिक गुणस्तर अभिवृद्धिका हिसाबले मूल्याङ्कन गर्नु नै यस अध्ययनको मूल उद्देश्य रहेको छ ।

३. पूर्वकार्यको अध्ययन

राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रम : एक परिचय (२०७२) नामक पुस्तकमा विद्यार्थीमा पढ्ने र बोध गर्ने क्षमता कमजोर हुनुको मूल कारण प्रारम्भिक कक्षाको पढाइ सिप कमजोर भएको कुरालाई औँल्याइएको छ । यसमा पढाइ, लेखाइ र बोधजस्ता सिकाइ सक्षमताको विकासका लागि प्रारम्भिक तहमै पढाइ सिपको सुधार गर्नु आवश्यक रहने कुरालाई उल्लेख गरिएको छ । सन् २०१५ पछि शैक्षिक कार्यक्रमलाई प्राथमिकता दिइँदा विश्वव्यापी रूपमा पढाइ क्षमता सुधारलाई स्वीकार गरिएको छ । यसमा विद्यार्थीको संज्ञानात्मक क्षमता एवम् शब्दभण्डारको वृद्धि गर्दै स्वाध्ययनको बानी निर्माण र बौद्धिक क्षमताको विकास गर्न पनि पढाइ सिपलाई अनिवार्य मानिएको छ ।

प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रम सम्बन्धी सामाजिक तथा सामुदायिक परिचालन तालिम निर्देशिका (सन् २०१६) मा तालिम कार्यक्रमलाई लक्ष्य, उद्देश्य, उपलब्धि र मूल सिद्धान्त; पूरक क्रियाकलापसहित प्रारम्भिक कक्षा तालिम र शृङ्खलाबद्ध पावर प्वाइन्ट प्रस्तुति गरी तीन खण्डमा विभाजन गरिएको छ । अध्यापन गर्ने शिक्षकलाई तालिम दिनका लागि तयार पारिएको यस निर्देशिकामा शिक्षक, समुदाय, सिकारू तथा अभिभावकलाई सक्रिय तुल्याउने गरी आर्थिक तथा शैक्षिक व्यवस्थापनमा सहभागी व्यक्ति तथा निकायलाई समेट्ने कार्यनीति बनाइएको छ । यसमा विद्यालय व्यवस्थापन समिति, शिक्षक अभिभावक संघ, टोल पढाइ समूहहरू, गाउँ शिक्षा समिति र स्रोत केन्द्रहरूको भूमिकालाई लक्ष्यका रूपमा समेटिएको छ ।

राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रम तालिम स्रोत सामग्री (२०७५) मा प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइको अवधारणा तथा सिद्धान्त, पढाइका लागि पाठ्यक्रम, शैक्षणिक विधिहरू, शिक्षण सिकाइमा सूचना तथा सञ्चार प्रविधिको प्रयोग, पढाइका तत्त्व, अन्य विषयसँग पठन सिपको अन्तरसम्बन्ध,

कक्षाकोठा व्यवस्थापन, मूल्याङ्कन तथा उपचारात्मक शिक्षण र बालबालिकासँग सिकाइ सुधारका लागि अभिभावक तथा समुदायसँगको सहकार्य गरी दशओटा एकाइमा विभाजन गरिएको छ। यस सामग्रीमा प्रारम्भिक कक्षामा पढाइलाई संज्ञानात्मक प्रक्रिया तथा लेख्य चिन्हहरूलाई संयोजन वा एकीकरण गर्न सकिने अवधारणालाई पेस गरिएको छ। विद्यार्थीमा संज्ञानात्मक क्षमता विकास एवम् शब्दभण्डारको वृद्धि गर्दै स्वाध्ययनको बानी निर्माण र बौद्धिक क्षमताको विकास गर्न पनि पठन सिप आवश्यक हुने कुरालाई यस तालिम स्रोत सामग्रीले प्रस्तुत गरेको छ। शुद्ध पढ्न, पढेको कुरालाई स्पष्ट रूपमा व्यक्त गर्न तथा तल्लो तहबाट पढाइमा दक्ष बनाउँदै लैजाँदा सम्बन्धित भाषा शिक्षणका लागि मात्र नभई सबै विषयलाई ध्यान दिएर पढ्ने र बुझ्ने कार्यमा सहज हुन्छ। यही मान्यतामा रहेर प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमका लागि ६ जिल्लामा परीक्षण गर्ने, १६ जिल्लामा लागू गर्ने, २४ जिल्लामा विस्तार गर्ने र त्यसपछि बाँकी जिल्लामा लागू गर्ने प्रावधान रहेको कुरालाई यसमा उल्लेख गरिएको छ। यस पुस्तिकाले शिक्षण पेसागत सहयोग सम्बन्धी कार्यविधि, २०७४ को व्यवस्थामा प्रस्तुत गरिएको व्यहोरा अनुरूप शैक्षिक सत्र २०७५ देखि विद्यालय तहको अनुगमन, निरीक्षण र सहजीकरणलाई सुदृढ र प्रभावकारी बनाउने तथा शिक्षकलाई थप सबल र जिम्मेवार बनाउने अपेक्षासमेत राखेर योजनाबद्ध शिक्षणको तर्जुमा गरेको छ।

केशव भुसालद्वारा *एएमसी जर्नल* (सन् २०२०) मा 'राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमप्रति शिक्षकहरूको प्रतिक्रिया' शीर्षकको लेखमा शिक्षकहरूलाई मातृभाषाको पठनपाठन, पढाइका ६ ओटा तत्त्वअनुसार शिक्षण गर्न पाठ्यक्रमले गरेको व्यवस्था, पाठ्यघण्टी र समय विभाजन, यो कार्यक्रमको ढाँचाबमोजिम अध्यापन गराउँदा देखा परेका चुनौती र समाधानका उपायहरू लगायतका विषयमा सोधिएका प्रश्नहरूको विश्लेषण गरिएको छ। खुला प्रश्नावलीको उपयोग गरी गुणात्मक अध्ययन विश्लेषण गरिएको यो लेखमा पञ्चवर्षीय कार्यक्रमको रूपमा रहेको रा.प्रा.क.प. कार्यक्रमलाई कार्यान्वयन गर्न विद्यमान पाठ्यक्रममा रहेको साप्ताहिक ८ पाठ्यभार र ४५ मिनेटको पिरियड अपुग रहेको निष्कर्षलाई पेस गरिएको छ। यसका लागि साप्ताहिक १२ पाठ्यभार र ९० मिनेटको समय रहनुपर्ने धारणालाई निचोडका रूपमा पेस गरिएको छ।

नेपाली दोस्रो भाषी विद्यार्थीलाई सहयोगका लागि शिक्षण स्रोत सामग्री (२०७७) मा राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रम (मस्यौदा) को प्रयोजनार्थ नेपालको बहुभाषिक परिवेशलाई ध्यानमा राखेर नेपाली भाषालाई दोस्रो भाषाका रूपमा शिक्षण गर्ने आधार प्रदान गरिएको छ। पाठ्यपुस्तकको सहयोगी सामग्रीका रूपमा तयार पारिएको यो मस्यौदा सामग्रीले बालबालिकाको भाषिक पृष्ठभूमिलाई ख्याल गरेर मातृभाषाप्रति सकारात्मक भाव जागरण गराउने उद्देश्य राखेको छ। मातृभाषा र कथ्य प्रयोगको माध्यमबाट भाषिक रूपान्तरण र स्थानान्तरण गर्ने विधिको उपयोग तथा मातृभाषा शिक्षणलाई प्रभावकारी तुल्याउने तौरतरिकालाई समावेश गरिएको यो सामग्रीले भाषिक न्यायको स्थापनामा सकारात्मक अभ्यास गर्ने कुरालाई जोड दिएको छ।

४. सैद्धान्तिक अवधारणा

यस अध्ययनमा पठन सिप विकासका लागि राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको सैद्धान्तिक आधारलाई मूल विषय बनाइएको छ। छोटो तत्त्वका आधारमा पढाइको प्रभावकारितालाई मूल्याङ्कन गरिने यो कार्यक्रमको सन्दर्भलाई अध्ययनीय विषयका रूपमा उपयोग गरिएको छ। राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमले कक्षा १-३ मा पठन सिप विकास गर्नुपर्ने अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय आधारलाई आवश्यक ठानेर सामान्य सिद्धान्त र पढाइ सम्बन्धी सिद्धान्त गरी दुई प्रकृतिका आधारभूत सिद्धान्तलाई तय गरेको छ। 'रा.प्रा.क.प.का. दस्तावेज (२०७०)' तथा 'प्रारम्भिक कक्षामा पठन सिप विकास, शिक्षक स्रोत सामग्री (२०७३)' मा सामान्य सिद्धान्तलाई तय गरिएको छ।

रा.प्रा.क.प.का. सामान्य सिद्धान्तहरू

(क) समतामूलक गुणस्तरीय शिक्षा

सबै बालबालिकामा सिक्न सक्ने क्षमता हुने भएकाले सबैका लागि सिकाइको उपयुक्त वातावरण दिलाइनु पर्दछ। सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक, आर्थिक तथा भौगोलिक हिसाबमा सीमान्तीकृत तथा सुविधाविहीन समुदायका बालबालिकाको शैक्षिक पहुँच र गुणस्तरको उपलब्धतामा यसले जोड दिन्छ।

(ख) विद्यार्थी सिकाइका लागि बढी समय

विशेष गरेर प्राथमिक तहमा नेपाली विषयको पाठ्यभार ८ घण्टी छुट्याइएको भए पनि त्यो आफैमा अपर्याप्त रहेको अनुसन्धानहरूले प्रस्ट्याएका कुरालाई उक्त सामग्रीमा उल्लेख गरिएको छ।

(ग) विद्यार्थीको सक्रिय सिकाइ

विद्यार्थीलाई नै सिकाइमा क्रियाशील बनाउनका लागि विषयवस्तु केन्द्रित नभई सिकाइलाई सिप केन्द्रित बनाउने पढाइको अर्को सिद्धान्त हो। यसमा विद्यार्थीलाई सिकाइको केन्द्रमा राखिएको हुन्छ।

(घ) विद्यार्थीको सिकाइप्रति पद्धतिगत उत्तरदायित्व

यसमा बालबालिकाको सिकाइप्रति स्रोत व्यक्ति, शिक्षक तथा अभिभावक सबै समान रूपले जवाफदेही हुने पद्धतिलाई अवलम्बन गरिन्छ। यसमा विद्यार्थी सिकाइप्रतिको जवाफदेहिता समावेश हुन्छ। सबै बालबालिकाले सिक्न सक्छन् भन्ने मान्यताअनुसार विद्यालयमा भर्ना भए अनुरूप सिकाइमा जवाफदेहिता रहेको पाइँदैन। यस पढाइ कार्यक्रमले भने विद्यार्थीको सिकाइलाई व्यवस्थित तुल्याउने उपायको खोजी गर्दछ।

(ङ) शिक्षकको पेसागत विकासको निरन्तरता

कक्षा शिक्षणमा शिक्षकको पेसागत विकास कार्यक्रमको निरन्तरता, पुनर्ताजगी तालिम, कार्यशाला, अन्तर्क्रिया तथा नमुना पाठ प्रदर्शन, नियमित बैठक, छलफल लगायतका कार्यको व्यवस्था गर्नुपर्दछ।

(च) दोहोऱ्याउन र अभ्यास गर्न पर्याप्त समय

सिकाइ प्रभावकारिताका लागि मूलतः विद्यार्थीलाई दोहोऱ्याउन र अभ्यास गर्न पर्याप्त समय दिनु प्रभावकारी हुन्छ। सिकन कठिन भएका सिकारुलाई नवीन पद्धति खोजेर सिकन अभिप्रेरित गर्नुपर्दछ। पढाइलाई बोझका रूपमा होइन थप सहयोग गरी नवीन क्रियाकलाप र उपायको खोजी गरिनु आवश्यक हुन्छ।

(छ) स्पष्ट लक्ष्यका आधारमा नियमित मूल्याङ्कन

सिकाइको अवस्थालाई समयोचित पहिचान गरी पृष्ठपोषण प्रदान गर्न निरन्तर मूल्याङ्कनको आवश्यकता पर्दछ। यसमा पढेको जाँच मात्र नभई दैनिक क्रियाकलाप, सहभागिता, दैनिक व्यक्तिगत व्यवहार, साथीसँगको व्यवहार आदिको समेत मूल्याङ्कन गर्दा सिकाइ प्रभावकारी बनाउन सहज बन्दै जान्छ। प्रभावकारी पठन सिपको विकासका लागि कक्षाकोठामा आधारित मूल्याङ्कन प्रणालीको विकास भएको छ।

‘पढाइ र भाषा सम्बन्धी सिद्धान्त’ राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमका लागि विशिष्ट सिद्धान्त हो। यस सिद्धान्तले स्वाभाविक र प्राकृतिक परिवेशगत सिकाइमा विशेष जोड दिन्छ। मूलतः पहिलो वा मातृभाषामा साक्षरता र पढाइको गति विकासमा शिक्षक, घर-परिवार र समुदायसम्मको भूमिकालाई यसले निर्देश गरेको छ। उल्लिखित आधारमा टेकेर यस अध्ययनमा निम्न सैद्धान्तिक ढाँचालाई तय गरी विश्लेषण गरिएको छ :

यस अध्ययनमा आधारभूत तहको पठन सिप विकासका लागि नेपाल सरकारले तयार पारेका सामग्री र त्यसको प्रभावकारितालाई अध्ययनको आधारवस्तु बनाइएको छ। उल्लिखित ढाँचामा रहेर नेपालमा प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको सान्दर्भिकतालाई केलाइएको छ।

५. अध्ययन विधि

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन गुणात्मक अनुसन्धान विधिमा आधारित रहेको छ। राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमका बारेमा मूलतः शिक्षा मन्त्रालय, शिक्षा विभाग, शैक्षिक जनशक्ति विकास केन्द्र, युएसएआइडी लगायतले प्रकाशन गरेका कार्यक्रम दस्तावेज, विधि तथा प्रक्रियाका आधार सामग्री, तालिम स्रोत सामग्री आदिलाई अध्ययनको मूल आधार बनाइएको छ। बाँके जिल्लास्थित जनता मा.वि. का पाँचजना शिक्षकसँगको प्रतिक्रियालाई प्राथमिक स्रोत सामग्रीका रूपमा लिइएको छ। विशेषतः नेपाल सरकारका प्रकाशित आधिकारिक सामग्रीमा प्रस्तुत विवरण तथा तथ्यको समीक्षात्मक विश्लेषण गरी यो अध्ययनलाई पूरा गरिएको छ।

६. प्राप्ति र छलफल

यस अध्ययनबाट रा.प्रा.क.प. कार्यक्रमले तय गरेका नीतिगत आधारहरूमा पर्याप्त निर्देशित व्यवस्था रहेको देखिएको छ। यसले मूलतः भौतिक, शैक्षिक तथा सामाजिक विकाससँगै आधारभूत तहमा पठन

सिपको सक्षमता र साक्षरता विकासमा विशेष टेवा पुऱ्याउने देखिन्छ। शैक्षिक विकासमा पनि विशेष आवश्यकता भएका विद्यार्थीका लागि समेत गहन रूपमा सोच्नु, मातृभाषालाई संविधानतः ग्राह्यता दिनु, समतामूलक-सहभागितामूलक र समावेशी शिक्षाको जगलाई समेत ध्यान दिइनु लगायतका विविध सन्दर्भ यस कार्यक्रमका सकारात्मक पक्ष हुन्। यसका साथै पढाइ सिप विकासको जगमा टेकेर संज्ञानात्मक, भावनात्मक र मनोक्रियात्मक प्रक्रियामा व्यवस्थित र व्यावहारिक शिक्षाको नीति निर्माण गर्नु बढी सान्दर्भिक देखिन्छ।

नेपालका शैक्षिक नीति जति सक्षम छन् त्यति व्यवहृत नहुनुले यस अधिका धेरै शिक्षाका योजनाले लक्ष्यलाई टेक्न सकेनन्। पढाइको जग विकास गर्दै त्यो क्षतिलाई व्यवस्थित रूपमा समाधान गर्नु आवश्यक देखिन्छ। अध्यापन गर्ने शिक्षक, यसको कार्यान्वयनका लागि सकारात्मक परिवेश निर्माण, प्रभावकारी अनुगमन र मूल्याङ्कन, सुभाव र सुधारको चक्रीय पद्धतिजस्ता व्यावहारिक पक्षमा यो कार्यक्रमले बढी ध्यान पुऱ्याउनुपर्छ। विद्यालय तहमा र स्थानीय तहमा 'मातृभाषालाई माध्यम बनाउने कि मातृभाषालाई विषयवस्तु बनाउने' भन्ने बारेमा अन्योलपूर्ण अवस्था अद्यापि देखिन्छ। वास्तवमा संविधानतः मातृभाषामा शिक्षा पाउने भनिएको कुराले यी दुवै पक्षलाई नकारेको देखिँदैन। यी लगायतका विषयमा देशव्यापी प्रचार-प्रसार, सूचना तथा सञ्चार माध्यममा जनचेतनामूलक कार्य सञ्चालन, कार्यक्रम गर्नुअघि अभिमुखीकरण तालिम, शिक्षकलाई अनिवार्य तालिम दिइनुपर्ने लगायतका सन्दर्भलाई यस कार्यक्रमले कार्यान्वयनकै तहमा लागू गर्नु अत्यन्तै आवश्यक छ। हाल कक्षा १-३ मा प्रयोग गरिएको पाठ्यक्रममा रा.प्रा.क.प. कार्यक्रमकै अवधारणा अन्तर्गतका अक्षर ज्ञान, ध्वनि पहिचान, पठन प्रवाह, शब्द भण्डार, पठनबोध र लेखाइ सिपलाई राखिएको भए पनि सबै जिल्लाका सबै सामुदायिक विद्यालयमा यसबारेमा आधारभूत जानकारी नभएका गुनासा छन्। कोरोना महामारीका कारण यो योजना कार्यान्वयनमा समस्या भए पनि प्रभावकारी सूचनाको प्रवाह गर्ने गरी अभ्यासको खाँचो अवश्य छ। यी विषय लगायत युएसएआइडीले गरेको प्राविधिक तथा आर्थिक सहयोग नहुँदा पनि आत्मनिर्भर बन्ने र शिक्षकलाई आकर्षक थप सुविधा दिनुपर्ने विषयमा पनि नेपाल सरकार निकै नै गम्भीर हुनुपर्छ।

बुझेर पढ्ने र पढेर बुझ्ने मान्यतामा शिक्षालाई बलियो बनाउन सिकाइलाई व्यवस्थित तुल्याउनु आवश्यक हुन्छ। गरिबीलाई हटाउन शिक्षामा सुधार गर्नुपर्ने कुरालाई हाम्रो जस्तो विकासोन्मुख मुलुकले गम्भीर रूपमा लिनुपर्छ। आधारभूत तहको पढाइ सिप विकाससँगै शैक्षिक गुणस्तरमा समतामूलक भावको विकास गर्नु आवश्यक छ। संविधानतः मातृभाषा शिक्षाको अवधारणालाई मूर्तता दिन अब सरकारले वास्तवमा निजी वा संस्थागत र सामुदायिक विद्यालयको दुई खाले पद्धतिलाई अन्त्य गर्ने प्रावधानलाई अपनाउनुपर्छ। धनी र गरिबले पढ्ने/पढाउने विभेदकारी परिवेशलाई बदल्ने र सामुदायिक शिक्षामा नवीन सुधार गर्ने बारेमा नसोचेसम्म हाम्रो मुलुकमा दुई खाले वर्गीय विभेद कायम रहिरहन्छ। सामुदायिक विद्यालयमा विपन्नका छोराछोरीले पढ्छन्। उनीहरूले पढाइको वातावरण नै नपाउने मूल कारण अभिभावकको राम्रो सहयोग नपाउनु पनि एक हो। अर्कोतिर तल्लो तहमा कमजोर भएपछि उदार कक्षोन्नतिको प्रावधान अनुरूप कक्षा चढे पनि स्तर अनुकूल सक्षम नहुनु ठूलो समस्या हो। यस कार्यको प्रभावकारितालाई हेर्दा तल्लो तहमा नै पढाइमा सक्षम भए माथिल्लो कक्षाको

पढाइ पनि राम्रो हुन्छ । परिणामतः विचैमा विद्यालय छोड्ने तथा कक्षा दोहोर्‍याउनुपर्ने एउटा प्रमुख कारणमध्ये बालबालिकाले पढाइको जगलाई बलियो बनाउन नसक्नु पनि हो ।

नेपालमा विद्यालयको पहुँचबाहिर रहेका विद्यार्थीलाई तिनका समस्या र आधारभूत आवश्यकतालाई समेत ध्यान दिई विद्यालयसम्म ल्याउन विद्यालयले विशेष भूमिका खेल्नुपर्ने देखिन्छ । नीतिगत र व्यावहारिक तहबाटै सामुदायिक विद्यालयलाई सुधार नगरेसम्म रा.प्रा.क.प.कार्यक्रमको अवधारणाले मात्रै खास नतिजा दिन सक्छ भन्न सकिन्छ । यसका लागि अभिभावकलाई नै पहिला त पढाइका लागि जागरुक बनाइनुपर्छ । अतः ग्रामीण स्तरमा अभिभावक र नानीबाबुलाई सँगै रमाएर पढ्ने खालका परियोजना र प्रेरणाप्रद कार्यक्रमको तर्जुमा गर्दै साङ्गठनिक सुधारको खाँचोलाई निर्योत गर्न सकिन्छ । गरिबी निवारणका कार्यक्रम र आधारभूत शिक्षाको विकासलाई विद्यार्थीका पक्षबाट मात्रै नभएर अभिभावकको आयस्तरको तहबाटै योजनाबद्ध तुल्याइनु हाम्रो जस्तो विकासोन्मुख मुलुकको अबको आवश्यकता हो ।

७. आधारभूत तहमा पठन सिप

बालबालिकाहरू सिक्न चाहन्छन् । औपचारिक सिकाइका लागि आदनात्मक (ग्रहण वा श्रुति र पठन) र प्रदानात्मक (अभिव्यक्ति वा वाक् र लेखन) सिपको आवश्यकता पर्दछ । भाषा सिकाइका लागि मात्रै नभएर अन्य विषयवस्तुको सिकाइमा पनि भाषा शिक्षणको आधारभूत सिद्धान्तभित्र पर्ने एककालिकताको उपादेयता उत्तिकै रहन्छ । औपचारिक सिकाइको जग पढाइ सिप हो भने सिकाइ स्तर अभिवृद्धिका लागि आधारभूत तह महत्त्वपूर्ण जग हो । यसर्थ सिकाइको जग बलियो भयो भने मात्रै माथिल्ला तहको सिकाइलाई प्रभावकारी र उपलब्धिमुलक बनाउन सकिन्छ । नेपालले सिकाइको गुणस्तरलाई अभिवृद्धि गर्ने उद्देश्यले प्राथमिक शिक्षा परियोजना, शिक्षक शिक्षा परियोजना, विद्यालय क्षेत्र सुधार योजना लगायतका विभिन्न शैक्षिक परियोजना र कार्यक्रमहरू कार्यान्वयनमा ल्याएको छ । प्रारम्भिक बालशिक्षाका सक्षमताहरूमा सर्वाङ्गीण विकासका कार्यकलाप, सिर्जनात्मक सोचको विकास लगायत भाषिक तथा सञ्चार सिपको विकासका पक्षलाई जोड दिइएको छ । यसका लागि पठन संस्कृतिको विकासार्थ आधारभूत शिक्षा (कक्षा १-३) का सक्षमताहरूलाई व्यावहारिक रूप दिनु आवश्यक हुन्छ :

- आधारभूत भाषिक तथा सञ्चार सिपको विकास तथा प्रयोग
- आधारभूत गणितीय अवधारणा र सिपको विकास र प्रयोग
- अनुशासन, सदाचार र स्वावलम्बनजस्ता सामाजिक एवम् चारित्रिक गुणको विकास
- विज्ञान, वातावरण, सूचना प्रविधि सम्बन्धी आधारभूत ज्ञानको विकास
- शारीरिक तन्दुरुस्ती, स्वस्थकर बानी र जीवनोपयोगी सिपको विकास
- कला तथा सौन्दर्यप्रति अभिरुचि र सिर्जनात्मकताको विकास

- आफ्नो परिवेशसँग परिचित भई विभिन्न जातजाति, धर्म, भाषा, संस्कृति र क्षेत्रप्रति सम्मान र सम्भावनाको विकास ।

उल्लिखित आधारलाई अपनाउँदै विद्यार्थीमा आफ्ना कला, संस्कृति, भाषा विकासको जग बसाल्न पनि मातृभाषा शिक्षाको व्यवस्थित कार्यान्वयन आवश्यक हुन्छ । पठनबोध र पठन प्रवाह विकासका लागि भाषिक विविधता अर्थात् बहुभाषिकताको सम्बोधन गर्न मातृभाषाको शिक्षाले सहयोग पुऱ्याएको हुन्छ । शैक्षिक गुणस्तर र सिकाइको ढाँचाभित्र समाजलाई छोड्ने हो भने त्यो पद्धति अधुरो हुन्छ । हरेक विद्यार्थी परिवार र समाजबाट आउने हुँदा विद्यार्थीको शैक्षिक विकासमा प्रत्यक्ष रूपमा समाजको संलग्नता रहनु आवश्यक हुन्छ । यसर्थ सिकाइका लागि उत्कृष्ट र आवश्यकतामुखी वातावरण प्रदान गर्न प्रारम्भिक तहकै कक्षाको पढाइलाई प्रभावकारी बनाउँदै लैजानुपर्ने मूल चुनौतीलाई समाजसापेक्षित तुल्याइनुपर्छ । यी विषयमा मूलतः विद्यालय क्षेत्र सुधार कार्यक्रम विस्तारित योजना (२०१४/१५-२०१५/१६) ले सन् २०१५ पछिको शैक्षिक विकासका लागि चरणबद्ध छलफल गर्‍यो । उक्त छलफलले विकासशील राष्ट्रको साक्षरता र प्रारम्भिक कक्षाको सिकाइ गुणस्तर न्यून रहेको कुरालाई दृष्टिगत गर्दै सामुदायिक विद्यालयको सक्षमता र गुणस्तर सुधारका गर्ने उद्देश्यले 'प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रम' लाई प्राथमिकताका साथ अघि सारेको छ (रा.प्रा.क.प.कार्यक्रम दस्तावेज, २०७० : १) । नेपाल सरकारद्वारा आर्थिक वर्ष २०७१/०७२ देखि सुरु भएको यो पाँच वर्षे कार्यक्रमको मुख्य लक्ष्य 'विद्यार्थीको सिकाइमा केन्द्रित रही शिक्षाको गुणस्तर सुधार गर्नु' भन्ने रहेको छ । यसको उद्देश्यमा 'कक्षा १ देखि ३ सम्मका सबै विद्यार्थीको पढाइ सिपको सुधार गर्नु' भन्ने रहेको छ (रा.प्रा.क.प.का., कार्यान्वयन मार्गदर्शन, २०७४ : २) । मूलतः विद्यालय क्षेत्र सुधार कार्यक्रमले आधारभूत तहबाटै पठन सिप विकास गर्नुपर्ने विषयलाई प्राथमिकतामा राखेको छ ।

यस कार्यक्रमको पहिलो चरणमा सप्तरी, भक्तपुर, मनाङ, कास्की, बाँके र कञ्चनपुर गरी ६ ओटा जिल्लासहित १६ जिल्लामा लागू गर्ने, दोस्रो चरणमा २४ जिल्लामा र तेस्रो चरणमा बाँकी सबै जिल्लामा कार्यान्वयन गर्ने योजना तर्जुमा गरिएको हो । यो अध्ययन गरिरहेको समयसम्ममा ३८ जिल्लामा यो कार्यक्रम सञ्चालन भएको भए पनि एकीकृत पाठ्यक्रम ढाँचालाई २०७७ सालबाटै लागू गरिएकाले देशैभर यस कार्यक्रमको उपादेयतालाई बोध गराउनुपर्ने आवश्यकता भनै बढेको छ ।

तल्लो तहबाटै पठन संस्कृति विकास गर्ने सन्दर्भमा २०७३ सालमा प्रकाशित विद्यालय क्षेत्र विकास योजना (२०७३/०७४-२०७९/०८०) ले प्रा.क.प.मूल्याङ्कन (EGRA) र नासाका नतिजाहरूको विश्लेषण गरी पाठ्यक्रम, शिक्षण विधि तथा शिक्षकको पेसागत विकासका कार्यक्रमलाई सुधार गर्न सुझाएको छ । प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको अङ्गका रूपमा पठनबोधमा विशेष जोड दिइने तथा अङ्ग्रेजीलाई कक्षा १ देखि विषयका रूपमा शिक्षण गरिने प्रावधानलाई यस योजनाले अघि सारेको छ । यद्यपि यस कार्यक्रमले मातृभाषामा शिक्षा दिनुपर्ने कुरालाई पढाइ सम्बन्धी सिद्धान्तभित्र विशेष रूपमा उठाएको हुँदा यो एउटा शैक्षणिक विकासमा गुणस्तर अभिवृद्धि गर्ने एउटा प्रभावकारी माध्यम बन्न सक्ने देखिन्छ । प्राथमिक तहको पाठ्यक्रम २०६३, सबैका लागि शिक्षा राष्ट्रिय कार्ययोजना (सन् २००१-२०१५), विद्यालय सुधार योजना (सन् २००९-२०१५), नेपालको संविधान २०७२ लगायतमा

उठाइएका मातृभाषा शिक्षाका प्रावधानलाई समेटेर विद्यालय क्षेत्र विकास योजना (२०७३/०७४-२०७९/०८०) ले राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइसँग सम्बन्धित हुने गरी सामीप्य सम्बन्ध स्थापित गरेको छ ।

- राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको प्राविधिक कार्य समूहले सन् २०१३ मा काठमाडौँ, काभ्रेपलाञ्चोक र चितवन जिल्लाका केही विद्यार्थीहरूको पढाइ क्षमताको परीक्षण गरेको थियो । उक्त परीक्षणको सङ्क्षिप्त परिणाम देहायअनुसार रहेको छ :

कक्षा २ र ३ को मौखिक पठनगति र पठन बोध नतिजा :

पढाइ सिप	कक्षा २		कक्षा ३	
	औसत प्रतिशत	शून्याङ्क प्रतिशत	औसत प्रतिशत	शून्याङ्क प्रतिशत
अक्षर ध्वनि पढाइ ज्ञान (सही अक्षर प्रतिमिनेट)	२८.६	८	३९.९	४
मात्रा पढाइ (सही मात्रा प्रतिमिनेट)	१५.८	३१	२७.९	१६
निरर्थक शब्द पढाइ (सही शब्द प्रतिमिनेट)	६.६	३४	११.७	१९
मौखिक पठन गति (सही शब्द पाठको प्रतिमिनेट)	१४.२	३७	२७.२	१९

कक्षा २ र ३ को पठन प्रवाह परीक्षण नतिजा

परीक्षण गरिएका सिप	कक्षा २ को सुरुमा	कक्षा ३ को सुरुमा
दिइएका ६० अक्षरमध्ये प्रतिमिनेट शुद्धसँग पढेका अक्षरको सङ्ख्या	३४.६	४९.४
दिइएका ६० मध्ये प्रतिमिनेट शुद्धसँग पढेका शब्दको सङ्ख्या	१८.८	३५.१
दिइएका ५० परिचित शब्दमध्ये प्रतिमिनेट शुद्धसँग पढेका शब्द सङ्ख्या	१३.३	२०.२
दिइएका ६० शब्दमध्ये मौखिक पढाइको गति प्रति मिनेट	१२.७	२३.३

सन्दर्भ स्रोत : पठन सिप विकास तालिम स्रोत सामग्री प्रारम्भिक कक्षा १-३, २०७४

माथिको नतिजालाई विश्लेषण गर्दा प्रारम्भिक तहमा नै कमजोर भएका विद्यार्थीहरूले माथिल्ला कक्षामा उदार कक्षोन्नतिको अवधारणा अनुरूप शैक्षिक गुणस्तरमा प्रभाव पार्ने देखिन्छ । युनेस्कोले सन् २०१२ मा प्रकाशन गरेको विश्वव्यापी अनुगमन प्रतिवेदन (ग्लोबल मोनिटरिङ रिपोर्ट) का अनुसार विश्वका निम्न आय भएका देशहरूका बालबालिकाहरूमा पढाइ सिप विकास गर्न सकिएमा १७१ मिलियन अर्थात् १७ करोड १० लाख मानिसहरूले गरिवीबाट मुक्ति पाउने कुरा उल्लेख छ । यसले विश्वको सम्पूर्ण गरिवी (१ अर्ब ४२ करोड ५० लाख मानिसहरू) को १२ प्रतिशत प्रतिनिधित्व गर्दछ । उक्त प्रतिवेदनका अनुसार विश्वका करिब २५ करोड प्राथमिक विद्यालय उमेरका बालबालिका राम्ररी वाक्य पढ्न सक्दैनन्, जसमध्ये २० करोड एसिया प्रशान्त क्षेत्रमा नै रहेको कुरा उल्लेख छ (रा.प्रा.क.प.का., तालिम स्रोत सामग्री, २०७५ : ३) ।

अर्कोतिर, बहुभाषिक मुलुकमा भाषागत सङ्ख्या र पठन सिप विकासको कुरालाई आपसमा गाँसेर लैजानु अझ बढी सान्दर्भिक हुन्छ । एसिया महादेशमा २,१६५, अफ्रिकामा २०११, प्रशान्त क्षेत्रमा १,३०२, अमेरिकामा १,००० र युरोपमा २२४ भाषाहरू समुदायमा बोलिन्छन् (रिमाल, २०७१

: २२०)। रा.प्रा.क.प.कार्यक्रम एक परिचय : २०७२ मा आरटिआई-२००९ को प्रतिवेदनले आधारभूत सिप वा क्षमताको अभावमा पुस्तानुपुस्त चलि रहेको गरिवीको दुष्चक्रबाट उम्कन नसक्ने कुरालाई प्रस्तुत गरेको देखिन्छ। यस आधारलाई हेर्दा हाम्रो देशमा मातृभाषा शिक्षा र पठन सिपको उपादेयता बढी छ। अपरिचित भाषामा सिक्ने र सिकाउने कार्य आफैँमा जटिल कुरा पनि हो। उक्त अध्ययनले साक्षरतासम्बन्धी ज्ञान राम्रो भएका बालबालिकाहरू तिनका दौतरीमाभूत पढाइसम्बन्धी कुरामा अग्र स्थानमा हुन्छन् भन्ने कुरालाई पनि प्रस्ट्याएको छ। रुम टु रिडको सन् २००९ मा गरेको अध्ययनअनुसार कक्षा २ का ४३ प्रतिशत विद्यार्थीले मात्रै सबै अक्षरहरू शुद्धसँग पढ्छन्। नेपालका केही अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय गैरसरकारी संस्थाहरूबाट सन् २००९ र २०११ का बिचमा लिइएको सीमित तथ्याङ्कको परीक्षणका अनुसार नेपाली भाषा पढाइका सिपमा अत्यन्त कमजोर रहेको देखाएका छन्। यी परीक्षणले कक्षा ५ का २०-५० विद्यालयका ३०० देखि ५०० विद्यार्थीलाई समेटेका थिए। सेभ द चिल्ड्रेनको सन् २०११ को तथ्याङ्कअनुसार कक्षा २ का ८० प्रतिशत विद्यार्थीले एक शब्द पनि पढ्न सकेनन्। विद्यार्थीको मौखिक पढाइको गति प्रतिमिनेट मात्र ५ शब्द मात्रै थियो (रा.प्रा.क.प.का., एक परिचय : २०७२ : ६)। यिनै तथ्यका आधारमा प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ सिप विकासका लागि नेपाल सरकारले योजनामा मात्रै होइन कार्यान्वयन तहको व्यावहारिकताप्रति बढी चासो राख्नुपर्ने देखिन्छ।

विद्यार्थीमा संज्ञानात्मक क्षमता एवम् स्वाध्ययनको विकास गराउन पढाइ सिप आधारभूत पक्ष हो। गहिरिएर पढ्ने, पढेका कुरालाई बोध गर्ने, बुझेका कुरालाई मौखिक र लिखित अभिव्यक्तिमार्फत अरू समक्ष पुर्‍याउन पढाइ सिपको समुचित विकास हुनुपर्दछ। पढाइ सिप बोध र अभिव्यक्तिको आधार हो। प्रभावकारी सिकाइलाई बालकको पढाइले सकारात्मक प्रभाव पारेको हुन्छ। पढाइ सिप भाषा विषयक सिप मात्र नभएर गणित, विज्ञान, सामाजिक जस्ता अन्य विषयका लागि पनि आधारभूत सिप हो (प्रारम्भिक कक्षामा पठन सिप विकास, शिक्षक स्रोत सामग्री, २०७३ : १०)। सन्दर्भपरक भाषाको प्रयोग, सृजनात्मक क्षमता विकास, विषयवस्तुको संयोजित प्रस्तुति कौशलजस्ता गुणात्मक विकासमा प्रारम्भिक तहमा पढाइ सिप अपरिहार्य हुन्छ। अतः तल्लो तहबाटै रुचिकर पढाइको वातावरण प्रदान गर्दै गइएमा कक्षा दोहोर्‍याउने, कक्षा छाड्नेजस्ता शैक्षिक क्षति गराउने समस्यालाई न्यूनीकरण गर्न सकिन्छ।

८. आधारभूत तहमा मातृभाषामा शिक्षा र पठन सिपको सान्दर्भिकता

प्रारम्भिक तहमा पठन सिप विकासका लागि राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमले मातृभाषामा शिक्षा दिनुपर्ने कुरालाई पढाइ सम्बन्धी सिद्धान्तमा उल्लेख गरेको छ। बच्चाहरूलाई अपरिचित भाषा सिक्न दबाव दिनु पनि सजाय नै हो। नयाँ भाषा सिक्नुपर्दा अन्य सिकाइ अवसरबाट वञ्चित रहनुपर्ने स्थिति पैदा हुन्छ। बालकले औपचारिक अध्ययनका क्रममा नबुझेका वा नजानेका मातृभाषाभित्र भाषामा सिकाइ अवधारणालाई विकास गर्न अप्ठ्यारो हुन्छ। कलिलो मस्तिष्कले दुर्बोध्य भाषामा अध्ययन गर्दा उसमा पढाइप्रतिको जाँगर नहुने हुन्छ। फलतः विद्यालय छोड्ने दरमा वृद्धि हुने डर रहिरहन्छ। युनेस्को (सन् २००८) को प्रतिवेदनमा उल्लेख भएअनुसार मातृभाषामा सिकाइको अवसर पाएका बालबालिकाहरूको आत्मबल बलियो भएको, काम गर्ने प्रेरणा जागेको पाइन्छ। यसबाट

कक्षालाई प्रभावकारी रूपमा सम्बोधन गर्न, समयको सदुपयोग गर्न सहज हुनुका साथै शैक्षिक उपलब्धि र ज्ञानात्मक क्षेत्रको विकासमा समेत राम्रो भएको कुरा उल्लेख छ (रिमाल, २०७१ : ४) । भाषिक सामर्थ्यका कारण सहज रूपमा आर्जन गर्न सकिने भाषा मातृभाषा हो । मातृभाषाबाट बालकको जीवन व्यवहारको सुरुवाती सभ्यताको सिकाइ प्रारम्भ हुन्छ (पौडेल र भट्टराई, २०७७ : १०९) । नेपालमा अहिले प्रयोग भइरहेको कक्षा १ देखि नै विषय र पाठ्यपुस्तकमा आधारित विधि प्रारम्भिक कक्षामा 'असल अभ्यास' को धारणासँग नमिल्ने भइसकेको छ । यसका लागि स्थानीय पाठ्यक्रमको विकास गर्न पाउने प्रावधानले स्थानीयपन र संस्कृतिसँग सम्बन्धित परिवेश र मातृभाषाको सिकाइ र प्रयोग दुवैका लागि मार्ग प्रशस्त गर्दछ (सील, यादव र कँडेल, २०७३ : ५४) । यस मानेमा नेपालको बहुभाषिक परिवेशमा भाषिक विविधता सम्बोधन गर्ने र भाषिक न्यायको परिवेशलाई ख्याल गर्ने विषयमा आधारभूत तहमा मातृभाषामा सिकाइको उपादेयता रहेको छ ।

बालकले जसरी प्राकृतिक रूपमा मातृभाषालाई सिक्छ त्यसै गरी आधारभूत तहको सिकाइलाई प्राकृतिक र सुबोध्य बनाउन मातृभाषाकै उपयोग गर्नुपर्छ । भाषाको पूर्वज्ञानले विद्यालयीय सिकाइसँग सामीप्यता गाँस्ने नीतिलाई मातृभाषा शिक्षाले सम्बोधन गर्न सक्छ । मातृभाषाको बढी अभ्यासले स्वाभाविक रूपमा सम्बन्धित विषयको बढी ज्ञान तथा सो भाषाको सिप र सांस्कृतिक विषयको जानकारी आर्जन हुन्छ । मातृभाषामा तयार गरिएका अध्ययन सामग्री सजिलै उपलब्ध हुन्छन् । यो अवसरले भाषाको प्रचार तथा विस्तारमा मद्दत पुगेको हुन्छ (रिमाल, २०७१ : २२२) । यसका लागि एउटा भाषामा सिकेका साक्षरतालाई अर्को भाषामा स्थानान्तरण गर्न सकिने भएकाले कम्तीमा ५ वर्षदेखि ८ वर्षसम्मको प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा मातृभाषाका माध्यमबाट दिइनु पर्दछ । पूर्व प्राथमिक तथा बालशिक्षाले मौखिक भाषाको विकासमा सहयोग पुऱ्याएको हुन्छ (रा.प्रा.क.प. कार्यक्रम : एक परिचय, २०७४) । हाम्रो जस्तो बहुभाषिक मुलुकले मातृभाषामा अध्यापन गर्ने क्रममा कक्षामा उपस्थित विद्यार्थीको विविधतालाई हेरेर सकारात्मक सम्बोधन गर्नु आवश्यक रहन्छ ।

नेपालको बहुभाषिक परिवेशका कारण पृथक् ज्ञान, जीवन दर्शन तथा रहनसहनलाई जान्न, बुझ्न पनि यहाँका नागरिकलाई अवसर र आवश्यकता दुवै छ । यस विषयमा उचित व्यवस्थापन, प्रोत्साहन, प्रयोगगत क्षेत्रको अभाव रहेको पाइन्छ । सबैजसो नेपालीहरू बहुभाषिक बन्नमा जति रुचि राख्छन् त्यति भाषा सिकाइको नीतिगत र कानुनी पहल भएको पाइँदैन (भट्टराई, सन् २०१९ : ६०) । यस विषयमा प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमका लागि सामाजिक तथा सामुदायिक परिचालन तालिम निर्देशिका (डिसेम्बर २०१६) ले समावेश गरेका पढाइ शिविर, घुम्ती पढाइ कुना, बाल क्लब पढाइ समूहहरू तथा पढाइ प्रतियोगिता आदि सन्दर्भहरू बढी व्यावहारिक हुन सक्छन् । पठन संस्कृति विकास गर्नका लागि बहुभाषी समुदायलाई नै पढाइ सिप विकासप्रति जागरुक तुल्याउने पद्धतिले मातृभाषामा सिकाइको अभ्यास गराउन सहज हुन्छ । यस विषयलाई संवैधानिक आधारबाट धारा ३१ को शिक्षा सम्बन्धी हकमा उल्लेख भएबमोजिम नियाल्नु बढी सान्दर्भिक हुन्छ :

उपधारा १ - प्रत्येक नागरिकलाई आधारभूत शिक्षामा पहुँचको हक हुनेछ ।

उपधारा २ - आधारभूत तहसम्मको शिक्षा अनिवार्य र निःशुल्क तथा माध्यमिक तहसम्मको शिक्षा

निःशुल्क पाउने हक हुनेछ ।

उपधारा ५- नेपालमा बसोबास गर्ने प्रत्येक नेपालीलाई कानूनबमोजिम आफ्नो मातृभाषामा शिक्षा पाउने हक हुनेछ ।

मातृभाषा शिक्षण र पठन सिप विकासका लागि मातृभाषा पहिचान र प्रभावकारी योजना तर्जुमा गर्नुपर्ने कुरालाई राज्यले ध्यान दिनुपर्छ । नेपालले स्थानीय सरकारलाई विद्यालय शिक्षाको अधिकार प्रदान गरिरहँदा प्राविधिक तथा तथ्यपरक ज्ञानमा व्यावहारिक स्पष्टता चाहिन्छ । बहुभाषिक गरिमा र मातृभाषाको अन्तर्यलाई मनन गर्दा नेपालमा वि.सं. २०६८ को राष्ट्रिय जनगणनाको तथ्याङ्कमा पेस भएका १२३ ओटा भाषामध्ये सबै भाषालाई मातृभाषाको स्थानमा राख्न सकिँदैन । यसमध्ये २५ ओटा भाषा नेपाली नागरिकले मातृभाषाका रूपमा प्रयोग नगर्ने भाषा रहेकाले बाँकी ९८ ओटा भाषा र २०७६ मा भाषा आयोगको अध्ययनबाट थप हुन आएका ६ ओटा गरी जम्मा १०४ भाषालाई मात्रै मातृभाषा र राष्ट्रभाषाका रूपमा मान्न सकिन्छ (पौडेल र भट्टराई, २०७७ : २७०) । नेपालमा प्रयोगमा रहेका १०४ भाषालाई मातृभाषाका रूपमा प्रभावकारी शिक्षण गर्नका लागि प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमले तोकेको ६ ओटा तत्त्व र त्यसको व्यावहारिक प्रयोजनतर्फ देशको योजना स्पष्ट हुनुपर्छ । भाषा सिकाइका क्रममा प्रशासनिक, शैक्षिक तथा व्यावहारिक अप्ठ्यारा हुने हुँदा केन्द्रमा भनिए जस्तो स्थानीय क्षेत्रमा सहज वातावरण हुँदैन । यसका लागि समन्वय र सहकार्यात्मक सुझको विकास गराउनु सरोकारवालाको दायित्व हो (भट्टराई, २०१९ : ६०) । वस्तुतः कक्षाकोठाको व्यवस्थापन, विशेष आवश्यकता भएका विद्यार्थीका लागि वैकल्पिक अध्ययनको थप सुविधा प्रदान, पाठ्यक्रमको प्रभावकारिता, शिक्षण विधिको नवीनता, शिक्षण सामग्री तथा सन्दर्भ सामग्रीको पर्याप्तता, शिक्षकलाई निरन्तर तालिम तथा भ्रमण, प्रभावकारी मूल्याङ्कन लगायतका विविध पक्षले उल्लिखित पठन सिप विकास तथा मातृभाषाको सिकाइलाई ठोस निष्कर्षमा पुऱ्याउन सक्छ ।

भाषा शिक्षण विषयवस्तुको शिक्षण होइन । यो सिपहरूको शिक्षण हो । फर्डिन्यान्ड डि सस्युरको संरचनात्मक भाषा विज्ञानको मान्यता तथा भाषावैज्ञानिक नोम चम्स्कीको भाषिक सामर्थ्य र सम्पादनको मान्यतालाई मातृभाषासँग जोडेर विश्लेषण गर्दा बालकले मातृभाषाका आधारमा बुझेको कुराबाट भाषिक संरचनालाई मस्तिष्कमा सङ्केत निर्माण गर्न तथा सीमित भाषिकज्ञानद्वारा असीमित वाक्यको सिर्जना गर्न सक्छ । यसर्थ मातृभाषामा बालकले अक्षर चिन्न र सो अनुरूप बुझेर व्यक्त गर्न सहज हुने कुरा स्वीकार्य हुन्छ । अक्षर फुटाएर पढ्नका लागि अक्षर चिन्ने र त्यसको उच्चारणमा शुद्धताको आवश्यकता पर्दछ । आकार, इकारादि आधार अक्षरको उच्चारण लगायतका सन्दर्भका साथै भाव बुझेर पढ्नका लागि विद्यार्थीले वाक्य संरचनालाई बोध गर्नुपर्छ । 'मातृभाषा शिक्षा' को न्यायको कुरा गर्दा युनेस्को तथा अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय कानूनले पनि मातृभाषा शिक्षालाई मौलिक हकभित्र सुरक्षित गर्नुपर्ने कुरामा जोड दिएको छ (पौडेल र भट्टराई, २०७७ : ११०) । उक्त सन्दर्भलाई युग सापेक्षित सम्बोधन गर्न आधारभूत तहबाटै मातृभाषाको जग बलियो बनाइनु वैज्ञानिक र व्यावहारिक रहन्छ ।

९. आधारभूत तहमा पठन सिपगत नीति र व्यवहार

प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको दस्तावेज २०७० नै नेपालको पठन सिप विकासको मूल आधार सामग्री हो । पढाइ सिप विकासका लागि यस कार्यक्रमलाई मूलतः रुम टु रिड, वर्ल्ड भिजन इन्टरनेसनल, विश्व शिक्षा, सेभ द चिल्ड्रेन, प्लान इन्टरनेसनलजस्ता अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय गैर सरकारी संस्थाले पनि सो अधिदेखि नै अभ्यास गर्दै आएको पाइन्छ । सरकारी तवरबाट औपचारिक रूपमा नेपालमा सञ्चालित राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमलाई अमेरिकी सहयोग नियोग (युएसएआइडि) ले प्राविधिक तथा आर्थिक सहयोग गर्दै आएको छ (रा.प्रा.क.प.का.का लागि सामाजिक तथा सामुदायिक परिचालन रणनीति, २०१७ : iii) । यसै गरी पढाइ सिपको विकासका लागि प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रम कार्यान्वयन मार्गदर्शन (२०७४) ले व्यवस्थित रूपमा सञ्चालन गर्नका लागि निम्नबमोजिमको न्यूनतम प्रावधानलाई प्रस्तुत गरेको छ :

(अ) पठन सिपमा आधारित सामग्रीको विकास तथा प्रयोग

(आ) शिक्षक तालिम तर्जुमा तथा तालिम सञ्चालन

(इ) सामाजिक तथा सामुदायिक परिचालन

(ई) विद्यार्थीमा पठन सिप परीक्षण

(उ) अनुगमन तथा मूल्याङ्कन

प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको दस्तावेज २०७० पश्चात् यो कार्यक्रमसँग सम्बन्धित शिक्षक तालिम सम्बन्धी सामग्रीलाई शिक्षा विभाग तथा शिक्षा मन्त्रालयले निर्देश गर्दै गएको देखिन्छ । युएसएआइडीको फाइनल पर्फमेन्स रिपोर्ट (२०१६/२०१७) मा कार्यक्रमको सारांशलाई उल्लेख गरेअनुसार निम्न तीन कुरामा यसले जोड दिएको छ :

(क) प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइलाई विकसित तुल्याइ राख्न प्रभावकारी शैक्षणिक सामग्रीको सहज उपलब्धतामा ध्यान दिइनुपर्छ । शिक्षकलाई तालिम तथा नेतृत्वसिपमा जोड दिइनुपर्छ ।

(ख) शैक्षणिक क्षेत्रको विकास गर्न प्रारम्भिक तहको पढाइका लागि प्रभावकारी नीति निर्माण, प्रारम्भिक कक्षाको पढाइका लागि मापदण्ड तयार पार्ने, योजना तथा आर्थिक लगानीको व्यवस्थापन गर्ने तथा जनशक्ति व्यवस्थापन गर्ने विषयमा विश्लेषणात्मक संयोजन गरिनुपर्छ ।

(ग) परिवार र समाजको सहयोगको वातावरणलाई बढाएर सरकारी स्तरबाटै सामुदायिक स्तरमा सार्वजनिक पुस्तकालयको विकास गर्ने, विद्यालयको पढाइका अतिरिक्त कार्यकलाप व्यवस्थापन गर्ने तथा पढाइ क्लबहरूको निर्माण गर्ने कुरामा जोड दिइनुपर्छ ।

हाम्रो जस्तो विकासोन्मुख तथा भौगोलिक हिसाबमा सुगम र दुर्गमको ठूलो फासला भएको मुलुकलाई गरिबीले शैक्षिक गुणस्तर विकासमा प्रत्यक्ष पारेको देखिन्छ । वि.सं. २०६८ को राष्ट्रिय जनगणनाले नेपालमा ६५.९ प्रतिशत साक्षर रहेको देखाइरहँदा काठमाडौँमा ८६.३ प्रतिशत र हुम्लामा

४७.८ प्रतिशत साक्षरताको अन्तरलाई पेस गरेको छ । यसर्थ सबै क्षेत्रलाई एकै प्रकृतिको योजनाले काम नगर्ने सम्भाव्यता बढी हुन्छ ।

राज्यका विभिन्न निकायको भूमिका र जिम्मेवारीसँग अभिभावकको उत्तरदायित्व विकास गराउने यस कार्यक्रमको सामाजिक संरचनात्मक सम्बन्ध बढी वैज्ञानिक छ । अर्कोतिर शैक्षिक व्यवस्थापनमा शिक्षण विधि, सामग्री, शिक्षक तालिम लगायतका सन्दर्भलाई प्रभावकारी कार्यान्वयन गर्नुपर्ने कुरामा हाम्रो मुलुकले हाम्रै समाजको अवस्था अनुकूल व्यवस्थापन गर्नु आवश्यक देखिन्छ । यी विषयमा समावेशी समाजको बहुभाषिक परिवेशलाई समेटेर विभिन्न भाषामा पाठ्यपुस्तकहरू तयार पारिंदै गएको पाइन्छ । आधारभूत तहको पठन सिप विकासले तुलनात्मक रूपमा सुगम र दुर्गम क्षेत्रमा शिक्षाको गुणस्तरलाई भौगोलिक दूरता, गरिबी, गरिबीले रोकेको शिक्षाको अवसर र चेतना विकासजस्ता पक्षमा छुट्टै व्यवस्था र भातृ योजना तर्जुमा गर्नु बढी सान्दर्भिक हुने देखिन्छ । यसका लागि सरकारले ल्याएको खाद्य कार्यक्रम मात्रै होइन अभिभावकका लागि रोजगारमूलक योजना र व्यावसायिक विकासको सम्बन्धलाई एकसाथ गाँसेर लैजानुचाहिँ बढी पृष्ठपोषणमुखी हुने देखिन्छ ।

१०. शैक्षिक वातावरण व्यवस्थापन

यस पढाइ कार्यक्रमको समग्र शैक्षिक व्यवस्थापनले सिकाइ उपलब्धि र शैक्षिक गुणस्तर अभिवृद्धिमा प्रत्यक्ष सम्बन्ध राख्छ । कार्यक्रम कार्यान्वयनका लागि माथिल्ला निकायदेखि तलसम्मको श्रेणीबद्ध जिम्मेवारीलाई वहन नगरेसम्म यो कार्यक्रम पनि यस अधिका योजना जसरी लक्ष्यमा पुग्न नसक्ने सम्भाव्यता रहन्छ । शिक्षण पेसागत सहयोग सम्बन्धी कार्यविधि, २०७४ मा उल्लेख भएअनुसार उपलब्ध जनशक्ति, साधन स्रोत र कार्यान्वयनको प्रभावकारिताका लागि कक्षाकोठामै सहजीकरण गर्ने गरी शिक्षा मन्त्रालयले शिक्षकको पेसागत सहयोग व्यवस्थापन कार्यविधि, २०७४ लाई जारी गरेको छ । शैक्षिक सत्र २०७५ देखि विद्यालय तहको अनुगमन, निरीक्षण र सहजीकरणलाई सुदृढ र प्रभावकारी बनाउने उद्देश्यलाई यसमा सुझाइएको छ । यसको कार्यान्वयनले प्रा.क.प.का.मा स्थानीय तहमा नियमित अनुगमन, निरीक्षण गर्ने कार्यमा स्थानीय सरकारका शिक्षा एकाइ प्रमुख, स्रोत व्यक्ति, विद्यालय व्यवस्थापन समिति र प्रधानाध्यापक तथा प्रारम्भिक तहका इन्चार्ज एवम् सम्बन्धित शिक्षकलाई थप सबल र जिम्मेवार बनाउने अपेक्षा गरिएको छ ।

विशेष गरेर विद्यालय क्षेत्र विकास कार्यक्रमले तय गरेका मापदण्डका आधारमा यो कार्यक्रम सञ्चालित छ । यद्यपि आधारभूत तह (कक्षा १-३) को पाठ्यक्रम २०७५ ले निर्दिष्ट गरेको प्रावधान अनुरूप २०७७ बाट एकीकृत ढाँचाको पाठ्यक्रमलाई कार्यान्वयनमा ल्याउने निर्णय गरेको छ । ४ वर्ष उमेर समूहका प्रारम्भिक बालशिक्षामाथि ५ देखि ७ वर्षसम्मको उमेर समूहका विद्यार्थीहरूलाई आधारभूत शिक्षा (कक्षा १-३) मानिएको छ । यो आधारभूत शिक्षा (कक्षा १-३) को पाठ्यक्रम संरचनालाई निम्नानुसार ६ ओटा क्षेत्रमा विभाजन गरिएको छ :

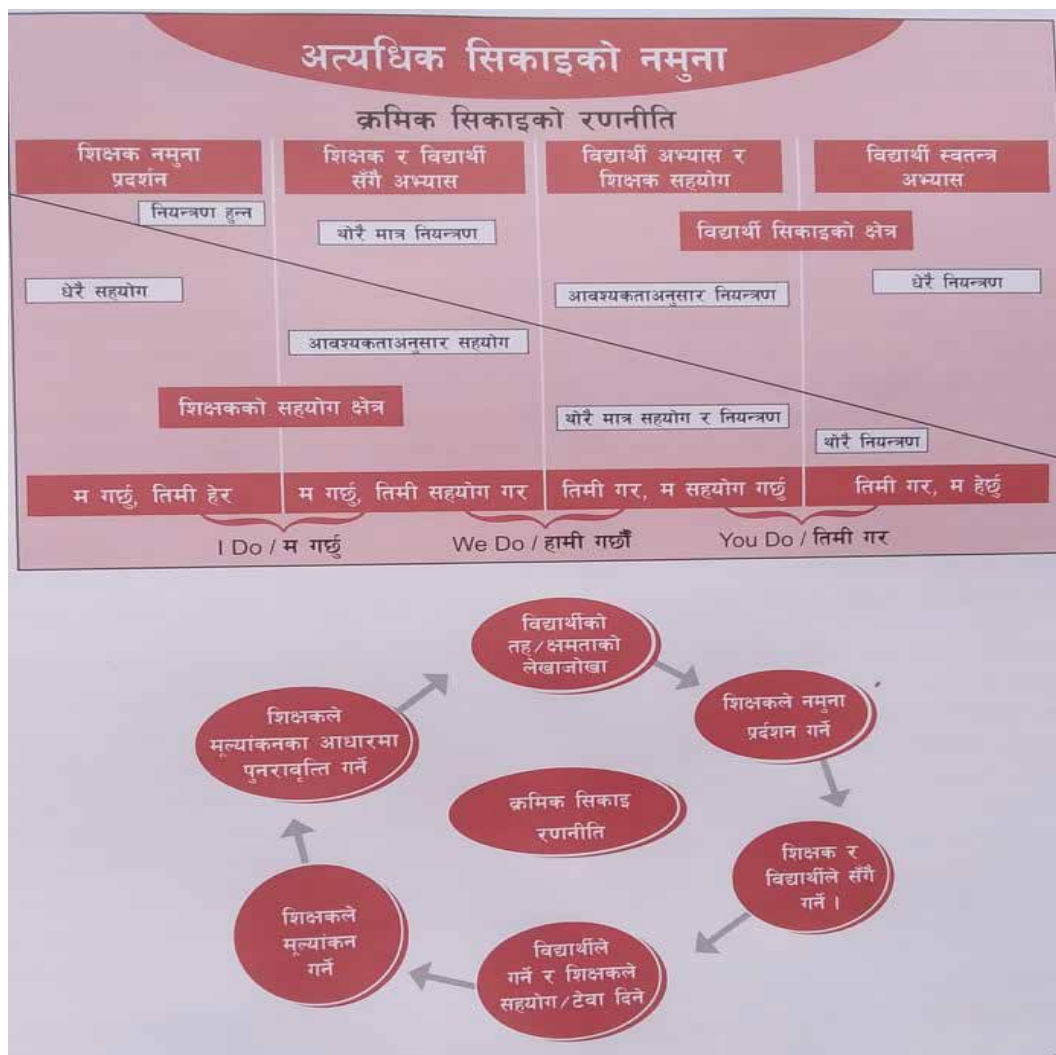
क्र. सं.	विषय सम्बन्धी क्रियाकलाप	पाठ्यघण्टा	वार्षिक कार्यघण्टा
१.	भाषिक सिप विकास सम्बन्धी क्रियाकलाप (नेपाली)	५	१६०
२.	भाषिक सिप विकास सम्बन्धी क्रियाकलाप (अङ्ग्रेजी)	४	१२८
३.	गणितीय सिप विकास सम्बन्धी क्रियाकलाप	४	१२८
४.	विज्ञान, स्वास्थ्य र शारीरिक शिक्षा सम्बन्धी क्रियाकलाप	४	१२८
५.	सामाजिक अध्ययन, चारित्रिक विकास तथा सिर्जनात्मक कला सम्बन्धी क्रियाकलाप	४	१२८
६.	मालु भाषिक सिप/स्थानीय विषयवस्तु सम्बन्धी क्रियाकलाप	५	१६०
	जम्मा	२६	८३२

(पठनपाठन सञ्चालनका लागि उपयोग भएको ३२ घण्टाको समयावधिलाई १ पाठ्यघण्टा (Credit hour) मानिएको छ ।)

सन्दर्भ स्रोत : आधारभूत तह (कक्षा १-३) को पाठ्यक्रम, २०७५

रा.प्रा.क.प.कार्यक्रम तालिम स्रोत सामग्री (२०७५ : ७) मा कक्षा एक, दुई र तीनका लागि पठनतत्त्वगत सिकाइ उपलब्धि निर्धारण गरिएको र सोहीबमोजिम हरेक दिनको कक्षामा पठनतत्त्व समावेश हुने गरी ९० मिनेटको क्रियाकलाप विकास गरिएको कुरा समावेश छ । यसका साथै ९० मिनेटको समय व्यवस्थापन र यसको कार्यान्वयनका लागि स्थानीय परिवेशअनुसार पठन समय मिलान विद्यालय तहमै गर्ने कुरालाई पनि सुझाइएको छ । यसै क्रममा बाँके जिल्लाको जनता माध्यमिक विद्यालयमा प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको मापदण्डका आधारमा तालिम लिई अध्यापन गरिरहेका पाँचजना शिक्षकहरूबाट प्रतिक्रिया लिँदा भने ९० मिनेटको समय बढी भएको भनी पाँचैजनाको समान धारणा प्राप्त भयो । अर्कोतिर भुसाल (सन् २०२० : २९) का अनुसार शिक्षकहरूले नेपाली विषय शिक्षण गर्नका लागि विद्यमान पाठ्यक्रममा व्यवस्था भएअनुसार साप्ताहिक ८ पाठ्यभार र ४५ मिनेटको पिरियड अपुग भएको अभिमत राखे । यसको प्रभावकारी कार्यान्वयनका लागि साप्ताहिक पाठ्यभार १२ तय गर्नुपर्ने र प्रति पिरियड ९० मिनेटको समय व्यवस्था गर्नुपर्ने विचार व्यक्त गरेको पाइयो भनिएको छ । यद्यपि, यस कार्यक्रमले पठन सिपका लागि ६ ओटै तत्त्वको संयोजन गर्ने गरी अभ्यास गराउन र हरेक कक्षालाई उद्देश्यमुखी भएर समापन गर्नका लागि ९० मिनेटको समय तर्जुमा गरेको छ । यदि ६ ओटा तत्त्वको अभ्यास गराउँदा सबैमा १०-१० मिनेटको ६० मिनेट समय र विद्यार्थीसँगको अतिरिक्त मनोरञ्जनसहित मूल्याङ्कनलाई जोड्ने हो भने ९० मिनेटको समयावधि वैज्ञानिक र प्रभावकारी हुने देखिन्छ । अतः ९० मिनेट समयलाई नै अपनाउने वा ६० मिनेटमा एउटा कक्षा पूरा गर्ने विषयलाई समेटेर शिक्षक तालिममा स्पष्ट मार्गदर्शन र अभ्यास गराउनुपर्ने आवश्यकता रहेको देखिन्छ ।

राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमले मूलतः कक्षाकोठाकै पढाइको तौरतरिकालाई सुधार गर्ने अपेक्षा राखेको छ । यो सिकाइमा केन्द्रित कार्यक्रम भएकाले शिक्षण कार्यकलापकै सन्दर्भमा आइपरेका समस्याहरूलाई कक्षाकोठामै समाधानमा सहजीकरण गर्न आवश्यक तालिम प्रदान गरी स्रोतव्यक्तिको सहयोगका साथै उत्प्रेरकको भूमिकामा यसले जोड दिएको हुन्छ । पढाइ सिद्धान्तमा रहेर अधिक सिकाइको उपायलाई यस कार्यक्रमले सुझाएको कुरा निकै प्रभावकारी देखिन्छ :

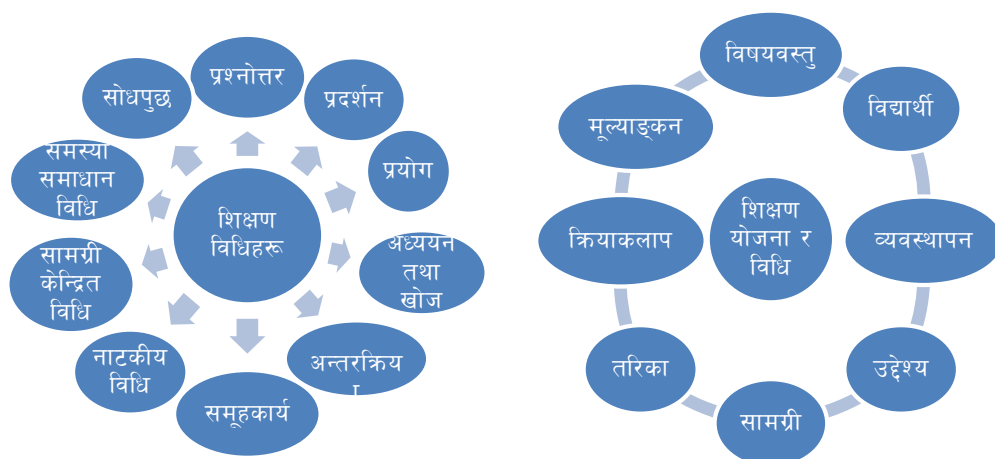


स्रोत : राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रम तालिम स्रोत सामग्री, २०७५

उल्लिखित अवधारणालाई हेर्दा बालमनोविज्ञानमा आधारित विद्यार्थीकेन्द्री अर्थात् विद्यार्थीमैत्री शिक्षण कार्यकलापलाई अपनाउन यस कार्यक्रमले निर्देश गरेको छ। यस क्रममा सरलबाट जटिल, ज्ञातबाट अज्ञाततिर, मूर्तबाट अमूर्ततिर लैजाने साधारण सिद्धान्तलाई व्यावहारिक रूप प्रदान गर्नु पनि उचित देखिन्छ। यस आधारमा अन्य सबै विषयको अध्यापन गर्न 'म गर्छु, तिमी हेर', 'म गर्छु, तिमी सहयोग गर', 'तिमी र म सँगै गरौं', 'तिमी गर, म सहयोग गर्छु', 'तिमी गर, म हेर्छु' भन्ने विधिलाई अपनाउनु सान्दर्भिक हुन्छ (प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पठन सिप विकास तालिम स्रोत सामग्री कक्षा १-३, २०७४ : ८८)। विद्यार्थीको मनोविज्ञान तथा रुचिलाई नियालेर मोबाइल, कम्प्युटर, इन्टरनेट, प्रोजेक्टरजस्ता सूचना प्रविधि तथा सञ्चारका स्रोतको उपयोग गर्दै सिकाइलाई रुचिकर बनाउन सकिन्छ। प्रभावकारी

सिकाइका लागि आवश्यक शिक्षक तालिम, सन्दर्भ सामग्री (शिक्षक निर्देशिका, अभ्यास पुस्तिका, वर्ण पत्ती, बाह्रखरी चार्ट, शब्दचित्र पत्ती, बालगीतको सचित्र चार्ट आदि) को व्यवस्थापनमा ध्यान दिइरहनुपर्ने देखिन्छ। तालिम स्रोत (२०७५ : ४६) को तालिकामा देखाइएअनुसार हालसम्म कक्षा १, २ र ३ कै लागि ६६-६६ ओटा सन्दर्भ सामग्री विद्यालय पठाइएको छ। वर्तमान अवस्थामा नेपाली भाषासँगै सम्बन्धित सामग्री बढी भएको हुँदा मातृभाषा शिक्षण गर्दा मूलतः श्रुतिभाषिक पद्धतिमा केन्द्रित रही साञ्चारिक पद्धतिको उपयोग गरिनुपर्ने देखिन्छ। यस पद्धतिमा सन्दर्भयुक्त प्रदर्शन गर्ने, दृश्य सामग्रीको उपयोग गर्नेजस्ता कार्यलाई अवलम्बन गरिन्छ।

भाषा सिकाइमा सुनाइ, बोलाइ, पढाइ र लेखाइ सिपका अतिरिक्त नेपाली विषयमा आधारभूत तह (कक्षा १-३) को पाठ्यक्रमले शब्दभण्डार र कार्यमूलक व्याकरणलाई समेटेको छ। प्रा.क.प.कार्यक्रमले तय गरेको सामाजिक सहसम्बन्ध र अभिभावकको दायित्वबोध गराउने प्रावधानलाई प्रभावकारी रूपमा कार्यान्वयन गर्ने हो भने कोरोना महामारीले निम्त्याएको बन्दाबन्दीका अप्ठ्यारा समयमा पनि घरमै बसेर पढ्ने वातावरणका तय हुने एउटा सम्भाव्यता विकास हुन सक्छ। सामग्रीको पर्याप्त उपलब्धता र अभिभावकको जागरुकताले यस कार्यमा सकारात्मक भूमिका निर्वाह गर्न सक्छ। यसका लागि गृह शिक्षा वा घरमै बसेर गरिने सिकाइ, रेडियो पाठशाला, टेलिभिजन शिक्षण र विद्युतीय प्रणाली उपयोग गरिने कक्षाको अवधारणालाई वैकल्पिक विधि मानिएको छ। मूलतः प्रारम्भिक तहको पढाइको व्यवस्थापनका लागि सन्दर्भ र आवश्यकता अनुरूप निम्न विधि तथा योजनालाई तय गरिएको छ :



स्रोत : राष्ट्रिय प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रम तालिम स्रोत सामग्री, २०७५

मूलतः पढाइलाई जोड दिइने गरी तयार पारिएको पाठ्यक्रम अनुकूल अतिरिक्त सामग्रीको खोजी गर्ने, बालमैत्री कक्षाको व्यवस्थापन गर्ने, समय अनुकूल सिकाइ प्रविधिमा अद्यावधिक हुने, आफ्नो नकारात्मक संवेगलाई नियन्त्रण गर्ने, बालमनोविज्ञानको पाटोमा सजग हुने लगायतका विषयले समेत यो कार्यक्रमको कार्यान्वयनमा खास प्रभाव पार्छ। बालबच्चा चञ्चल हुन्छन्। कक्षामा चकचक गरिरहन्छन्। साथी-साथीबिचमा कसैले कसैलाई दबाइरहेका हुन्छन्। पछाडिबाट चिमोटरहेका हुन्छन्।

यसर्थ शिक्षकको सक्रियता र बालमैत्री वातावरणमा बालबालिकालाई पढाइप्रति सजग बनाएर सहभागी गराउने विषय सिद्धान्तभन्दा धेरै फरक हुन्छ । सिकाइको जागरुकता, चाहना, परिवेश आदि पक्षलाई लम्बीय रूपमा समयको कालखण्ड र क्षितीजीय रूपमा स्थान अर्थात् परिवेशगत रूपमा फरक-फरक प्रभाव पारिरहेको हुन्छ । यी सबै समस्याको हल खोज्न यो कार्यक्रमले व्यावहारिक परिवर्तनतर्फ सचेत भएर भूमिका निर्वाह गर्नुपर्छ । कक्षा २, ३ सम्मतिर पुग्दा समय हेरेर एक मिनेटमा कसले कति शुद्ध पढ्ने र धेरै पनि पढ्ने भन्ने अभ्यास गराउन सकिन्छ । प्रभावकारी सिकाइका लागि प्रारम्भिक तहका बालबालिकालाई शिक्षकले प्रदर्शन गर्ने विधि तथा कक्षाकोठा व्यवस्थापन लगायतका कार्यले सबैभन्दा बढी प्रभाव पार्ने सारलाई केलाउन सकिन्छ ।

११. निष्कर्ष

विद्यार्थीलाई पढाउने भन्दा पनि पढ्ने कसरी बनाउने भन्ने विषय बढी महत्त्वपूर्ण हो । वास्तवमा सिकाइको गुणस्तर अभिवृद्धि गर्न प्रारम्भिक कक्षा (१-३) मा सूचना तथा सञ्चारको प्रयोग अपरिहार्य बन्छ । तल्लो कक्षामा पठन सिप कमजोर भएपछि माथिल्लो कक्षामा पुगेर ज्ञान हासिल गर्न अक्षम हुने वास्तविकतालाई प्रारम्भिक कक्षा पढाइ कार्यक्रमको प्रभावकारी कार्यान्वयनमा उल्लेख्य भूमिका निर्वाह गर्नु आवश्यक देखिन्छ । यद्यपि यसबाट प्राप्त हुने नतिजालाई माथिल्ला कक्षामा पुगेपछि मात्रै लेखाजोखा र विश्लेषण गर्न सकिन्छ । तल्ला कक्षामा सबल भएको विद्यार्थी उमेरगत स्वभावको परिवर्तन र उसले पाएको वातावरणका कारण सधैं सक्षम र एकैनास रहिरन्छ, भन्नेचाहिँ नहुन पनि सक्छ । तल्लो कक्षाको पठन सिप र माथिल्ला कक्षाको विषयवस्तुगत ज्ञान तथा सिपमा पनि यस कार्यले निरन्तरता पाउने गरी प्रभावकारी योजना तर्जुमा गर्दै लैजानु आवश्यक देखिन्छ ।

कक्षाकोठामा भौतिक तथा मनोवैज्ञानिक व्यवस्थापन गर्दै शिक्षण कार्यको सहजीकरणका लागि पढाइको प्रशस्त अवसर प्रदान गर्ने गरेमा मात्र सिकाइलाई प्रभावकारी बनाउन सकिन्छ । निरन्तर मूल्याङ्कन पद्धतिका आधारमा विद्यार्थीको सिकाइ सक्षमता तथा उपलब्धिलाई परीक्षण गर्न सकिन्छ । भाषा शिक्षणमा बालबालिकालाई प्रभावकारी सिकाइको अभ्यास गराउँदा अन्य विषयमा पनि गहन पढाइको विकास हुन्छ । भाषाको सिकाइविना अन्य विषयको अध्ययनको आधार तथा बुझेर पढ्ने बानीको विकास गर्न जटिल हुन्छ । केही विद्यार्थीको व्यक्तिगत रुचि तथा क्षमताले तिनको सिकाइमा सकारात्मक प्रभाव पार्ने बाहेकका सन्दर्भमा सिकाइको प्रभावकारिता अहिलेको खोजपूर्ण विषय पनि हो ।

पठन सिप विकास र यसको प्रभावकारिताका लागि विद्यालयमा गरिने व्यवहार, शिक्षकहरूले गर्ने समान प्रकृतिको माया र सद्भाव, साथीसाथीबिचको सम्बन्ध र व्यवहार लगायतका सहायक क्रियाकलापले निकै ठूलो भूमिका खेलेको पाइन्छ । विद्यार्थीको पढाइलाई विकास गर्ने योजनाभित्र विद्यालयमा सिकाउनुपर्ने अनुशासन, सरसफाइप्रतिको ध्यान, समान व्यवहार लगायतका पक्षमा शिक्षक बढी जिम्मेवार हुने हुँदा मूलतः यस तहका लागि महिला शिक्षिका नै हुनुपर्ने प्रावधान तोकनु बढी प्रभावकारी देखिन्छ । सामुदायिक विद्यालयको बालकोटामा श्रमको शोषण गरिरहिएको गुनासोलाई नियमसम्मत सम्बोधन गर्नु पनि उत्तिकै आवश्यक छ । संस्थागत विद्यालयको मन्टेश्वरी पद्धतिको पढाइ

र त्यहाँका शिक्षकलाई दिइने तलब सुविधा लगायतका धेरै पक्षलाई सामुदायिक विद्यालयले अझै पनि अवलम्बन गर्न सकेको छैन । यसर्थ विद्यालयको भौतिक, शैक्षिक तथा प्रशासनिक सबै व्यवस्थापनमा विद्यालयका शिक्षक, प्रशासक तथा स्थानीय सरोकारवालाको भूमिका सबैभन्दा बढी रहन्छ । स्थानीय सरकार सञ्चालन ऐन २०७४ को अवधारणा अनुरूप स्थानीय सरकारले यस कार्यक्रमको प्रभावकारिता मूल्याङ्कन र कार्यान्वयनको अनुगमन, प्रतिवेदन निर्माण र प्रस्तुतिकरण तथा सुधारको चक्रीय पद्धतिभित्र नवीनता प्रदर्शन गर्ने अवसर पाएको छ । अतः यो कार्यक्रमको महत्त्व, विशेषता र प्रभावकारी प्रयोगको सान्दर्भिकतालाई शैक्षिक गुणस्तर अभिवृद्धि आधारको रूपमा मूल्याङ्कन गर्नुपर्छ ।

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‘बाँदनी मैयाँको कथा’ लोककथाको विधातात्त्विक अध्ययन

कमला रेग्मी*

सार

लोककथाले समाज र हिजोको सामाजिक आवरणलाई चित्रण गरेको हुन्छ । यस अध्ययनमा लोकवार्ताअन्तर्गत लोकसाहित्यभित्र पर्ने लोककथालाई चिनाइएको छ । अध्ययनका लागि छनोट गरिएको ‘बाँदनी मैयाँको कथा’ लाई कथानक, पात्र, परिवेश, उद्देश्य र भाषाशैलीका आधारमा सैद्धान्तिक र कथागत सामग्रीमा प्रयुक्त उद्धरणलाई लिएर विश्लेषण गरिएको छ । यस अध्ययनमा लोकसाहित्यका सिद्धान्त र लोककथाको संरचनात्मक पक्षलाई ध्यानमा राखेर कथावस्तुमा व्यक्त भएको सन्दर्भलाई समीक्षात्मक चर्चा गरिएको छ । स्वैरकल्पनामा आधारित र मनोरञ्जनप्रद विषयवस्तुलाई बोकेको यस कथाले आदर्श समाजको दर्शनलाई बोध गराएको छ । सत्यको विजय हुने भावलाई दर्शाउन सुखान्तक कथावस्तुका आधारमा यो कथा पूर्वीय दर्शनको आस्तिक मान्यतामा आधारित छ । पुस्तकालयीय सामग्रीलाई आधार मानेर सम्पन्न गरिएको यस अध्ययनमा गुणात्मक अनुसन्धान विधिको उपयोग गरिएको छ । कथातत्त्वगत प्रकृतिका आधारमा यस अध्ययनको निष्कर्षलाई पेस गरिएको छ ।

मुख्य शब्दावली : आञ्चलिक भेद, तिलस्मी, मानवेतर पात्र, मिथक, लोकवार्ता, लौकिक ।

१. विषय परिचय

परापूर्व कालदेखि पुस्तान्तरण भई श्रुतिपरम्परामा जीवित भएको साहित्यलाई लोकसाहित्य भनिन्छ । मूलतः रचनाकार र रचनाकाल दुवै अज्ञात रहेको लोकवार्ताका प्रकारमध्ये मौखिक-श्रव्य लोकवार्ताअन्तर्गत लोकसाहित्य र लोकसङ्गीत पर्दछन् । यही लोकसाहित्यको स्थूल विधाभित्र लोककथालाई समेटिन्छ । यस विधालाई लोकसाहित्यको प्रमुख विधा मानिन्छ । यसका अतिरिक्त लोकसाहित्यभित्र विशेष गरेर लोकगीत, लोकगाथा, लोककविता, लोकनाटक, उखान, टुक्का, गाउँखाने कथा र मन्त्र बढी चर्चामा छन् । लोककथालाई

* कमला रेग्मी मानविकी तथा सामाजिक शास्त्र संकाय त्रि.वि. कीर्तिपुरअन्तर्गत नेपाली केन्द्रीय विभागबाट नेपाली विषयमा एम.फिल. अध्ययनरत हुनुहुन्छ । ईमेल : kamalaregmi1122@gmail.com

मूलतः शिक्षितभन्दा अशिक्षित वर्गले नै जोगाइराखेको छ । शिक्षित वर्गभित्रमा भने लोकसाहित्य, समाज र संस्कृतिप्रेमी अध्येता तथा यस विषयमा अध्यापनरत सम्बन्धित सरोकारवालाले चासो राख्ने गरेको देखिन्छ । शिक्षितले अध्ययन गर्न रुचि राख्ने पनि प्रयोग व्यवहारमा अशिक्षित वर्गले मनोरञ्जनात्मक प्रयोजनका आधारमा तथा सामाजिक संरचनाभित्र नैतिक आदर्श सिकाउन लोककथालाई दृष्टान्त बनाउने गरेका छन् ।

लोककथामा सामान्य तथा अति सामान्य र प्राकृतिक तथा अति प्राकृतिक विषय विचको सम्बन्ध देखाइएको हुन्छ । यस्ता कथामा मानवीय पात्रले अति प्राकृतिक पात्रहरूसँग सङ्घर्ष पनि गर्नु पर्दछ । लोककथाहरूमा मानवेतर प्राणीहरूलाई मानव प्राणी जसरी बोल्न, सुन्न वा भावनात्मक व्यवहार गर्न सक्ने गरी व्यक्त गरिएको हुन्छ । लोककथा मूलतः वर्णनात्मक प्रकृतिमा आधारित गद्यात्मक शैलीमा लेखिन्छन् । यस्ता कथाहरूमा जादुगरी, तिलस्मी, काल्पनिक तथा स्वैरकाल्पनिक प्रस्तुति, मिथकीय प्रस्तुति, समाज सुधारक भावना र सन्देश, नैतिक उपदेश प्राधान्य, व्यापकता, मौलिकता, मनोरञ्जनप्रद विषय, सुखान्तक प्रस्तुति लगायतका विशेषता रहेका हुन्छन् । समाजमा बाँच्ने साभ्ना विशेषता हुनुले लोकसाहित्यमा आञ्चलिक भेदको प्रभाव रहन्छ । उल्लिखित आधारमा लोककथा समाजका मानिसको बोधगम्य तह अनुरूप श्रुतिपरम्परामा आधारित सरल र सुबोध्य विधा हो ।

लोकसाहित्यभित्र समाजको आस्था, विश्वास, संस्कृति पनि कता न कता चित्रित भएको हुन्छ । पौडेल (२०७४ : ३२) ले लोकवार्ता र लोकसंस्कृतिको अध्ययन क्षेत्र फराकिलो र व्यापक रहेको तथ्यलाई पेस गर्दै वाचिक लोकवार्ता, सामाजिक लोकाचार वा लोकप्रथा, भौतिक लोकसंस्कृति र लोक प्रदर्शन कला गरी चार क्षेत्रलाई विभाजन गरेर देखाएका छन् । यस्तै गरेर बन्धु (२०७२ : २२) ले पनि मौखिक लोकवार्ता, सम्पादनमूलक लोककलाहरू, व्यवहारमूलक लोकवार्ता र भौतिक लोकवार्ता गरी चार क्षेत्रलाई दर्शाएका छन् । यसमध्ये लोककथालाई मौखिक लोकवार्ताभित्र समेटिएको छ । मानव सभ्यतासँगै विकसित लोककथा लोकसाहित्यको अति प्राचीन विधा हो । भाषाका माध्यमबाट अभिव्यक्त लोकसिर्जनालाई लोकसाहित्य भनिन्छ । लोकसाहित्यको स्थूल विधाअन्तर्गत लोककथा आख्यानमात्रक गद्यरचना हो (लुइटेल्, २०७६ : ४) । लोकजीवनमा मौखिक रूपमा भनिँदै सुनिँदै आएको कथा लोककथा हो । भन्ने र सुन्ने प्रचलन आदिम मानिसको आदिम प्रवृत्तिको रूपमा देखा पर्दछ । लोककथाको अस्तित्व संसारभरि नै छ । संसारका सबै भाषा, जातजाति, क्षेत्र र स्थानमा लोककथाको अस्तित्व रहेको पाइन्छ । त्यसकारण लोककथा सुन्ने र सुनाउने प्रचलन मानव सभ्यताको प्राथमिक कालदेखि नै प्रारम्भ भई हालसम्म पनि कायम रहेको देखिन्छ । लोककथालाई अर्को शब्दमा दन्त्यकथा पनि भन्ने गरेको पाइन्छ । दन्त्यकथालाई नेपाली बृहत् शब्दकोश (२०७५) मा 'लोकले युगौंदेखि परम्परागत रूपमा संरक्षित गर्दै आएको, मौखिक तथा काल्पनिक कथा, सुन्ने कथा' भनिएको छ । लोककथाहरूमा लोकजीवनका सुख-दुःख, आस्था, विश्वास, धर्म, रीतिरिवाज आदिको प्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव रहेको हुन्छ । स्वैरकल्पनाको अधिक प्रयोगले लोककथा यथार्थभन्दा टाढा हुन्छन् । वक्ताको मौखिक सामर्थ्य, समयको अन्तराल र भौगोलिक भिन्नताका कारण एउटै लोककथामा पनि केही फरकपन देखिन सक्छ । यसमा सामान्यतया रैखिक ढाँचाको उपयोग हुन्छ भने तृतीय पुरुष दृष्टिविन्दुको प्रयोग हुने गर्दछ । अधिक मात्रामा अभिप्राय अर्थात् अनौठो घटना, अनौठो पात्र, परिवेश आदिको प्रयोग हुनु लोककथाको प्रमुख विशेषता हो । अभिप्रायले कथाभित्र कथानकलाई गति दिने, आकस्मिक मोड ल्याउने, चरित्रलाई प्रस्ट्याउने, रोचकताको अभिवृद्धि

गर्ने आदि कार्य गर्छ, भने कथाबाहिरका लोकविश्वास, रीतिथिति, तत्कालीन परिस्थिति, मूल्यमान्यता आदिलाई जनाउने कार्य गर्दछ। अभिप्रायविना लोककथा बन्दैन भन्ने मान्यता रहेको पाइन्छ (लुइटेल्, २०७६ : २९१)। यस्ता कथामा उड्ने खराउ, अदृष्य बनाउने टोपी, अह्नाएको मान्ने लट्ठी जस्ता सामग्री तथा परिवेशहरू आएका हुन्छन्।

प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा बोधविक्रम अधिकारीद्वारा नेपाली दन्त्यकथा (२०६४) मा सङ्कलित 'बाँदनी मैयाको कथा' शीर्षकको लोककथाको विधातात्त्विक विश्लेषण गरिएको छ। यस कथाको अध्ययन गर्ने सन्दर्भमा लोककथामा समावेश हुने कथानक, चरित्र, परिवेश, उद्देश्य र भाषाशैलीका आधारमा विधातत्त्वगत सन्दर्भलाई केलाइएको छ।

२. अध्ययनको उद्देश्य

'नेपाली दन्त्यकथा' कथा सङ्ग्रहभित्र सङ्ग्रहित १२ ओटा कथामध्ये 'बाँदनी मैयाको कथा' नामक लोककथालाई अध्ययनका लागि छनोट गरिएको छ। लोककथाको संरचनात्मक ढाँचा अनुरूप 'बाँदनी मैयाको कथा' लोककथाको विधातात्त्विक आधारबाट विश्लेषण गर्नु नै यस अध्ययनको मुख्य उद्देश्य रहेको छ।

३. सैद्धान्तिक अवधारणा

लोकवार्ताविज्ञानको श्रव्य-पाठ्य भेदअन्तर्गत पर्ने लोकसाहित्यको आख्यानयुक्त गद्यविधालाई लोककथा भनिन्छ। लोकसमुदायमा प्रचलित काल्पनिक तथा रोमाञ्च तत्त्वहरूले भरिएको कलात्मक आख्यानात्मक गद्यविधा नै लोककथा हो। यसलाई धेरै विद्वान्हरूद्वारा अपठित सामूहिक अभिव्यक्ति मानिएको पाइन्छ। लोककथा निर्माण गर्ने आवश्यक उपकरण या घटकलाई यसको तत्त्व भनिन्छ। यसमा आख्यान साहित्यमा हुने विभिन्न तत्त्वहरूको उचित संयोजन गरिएको हुन्छ। यस अध्ययनमा छनोट गरिएको लोककथालाई तलको खाकाका आधारमा रहेर विधातात्त्विक अध्ययन गरिएको छ :

लोककथाभित्र उल्लिखित घटकहरू मूलतः समावेश भएका हुन्छन्। उद्देश्य राखेरभन्दा पनि प्रस्तोता र श्रोताले मनोरञ्जनको अपेक्षा गरेर कथाभित्र उल्लिखित सैद्धान्तिक पर्याधारलाई अँगालेको देखिन्छ। तत्त्वगत सारमा हेर्दा डेल हाइम्सले लोकवार्ताका बारेमा जातितत्त्वगत अध्ययनको आधारलाई अधि सारेका छन्। यसलाई नेपाली जगत्का विश्लेषक चूडामणि बन्धुले छोटकरीमा कथनको पद्धति भनेर मानेका छन्। यस्तै गरेर लोकवार्ताविज्ञानका सन्दर्भमा रिचार्ड बाउम्यानले सम्पादन सिद्धान्तलाई चर्चा गर्दै लोकसाहित्यलाई सञ्चार शक्ति र वाक्कलासँग जोडेका छन्। लाउरी होङ्कोले पर्यावरणीय महत्तालाई प्रश्रय दिएका छन् (भट्टराई, २०७२ : ८७-८९)। उल्लिखित सैद्धान्तिक आधारमा रहेर यस अध्ययनलाई लोकसाहित्य अध्ययनका विभिन्न पद्धतिमध्ये साहित्यशास्त्रीय पद्धतिका आधारमा गरिएको छ। साहित्यशास्त्रीय पद्धतिमा लोकसाहित्यलाई लिखित साहित्य जस्तै मानेर अध्ययन-विश्लेषण गरिन्छ (लुइटेल्, २०७६ : २२)। यस अध्ययनमा उल्लिखित सैद्धान्तिक पृष्ठाधारमा रहेर कथाभित्र पर्ने अनिवार्य घटकहरूलाई यहाँ केलाइएको छ।

४. अध्ययन विधि

प्रस्तुत 'बाँदनी मैयाँको कथा' शीर्षकको लोककथाको विधातात्त्विक अध्ययनलाई तयार पार्नका लागि प्राथमिक स्रोत सामग्रीका रूपमा बोधविक्रम अधिकारीको कथा सङ्ग्रह 'नेपाली दन्त्यकथा' भित्र रहेको निर्दिष्ट कथालाई लिइएको छ । द्वितीयक स्रोत सामग्रीका रूपमा यस अध्ययनसँग सम्बन्धित शोध तथा अन्य अनुसन्धेय सामग्रीलाई प्रयोग गरिएको छ । अतः पुस्तकालयीय सामग्रीलाई उपयोग गरी गुणात्मक अध्ययन विधिद्वारा यसलाई सम्पन्न गरिएको छ ।

५. लोकवार्ताभित्रको एक विधा : लोककथा

अध्ययनका लागि छनोट गरिएको सामग्री लोककथा भएकाले यसबारेमा सूक्ष्म विश्लेषण आवश्यक हुन्छ । लोककथा लोकवार्ताभित्र पर्ने एउटा विधा हो । 'लोक' र 'वार्ता' दुई शब्दको योग अर्थात् 'लोकको वार्ता' = 'लोकवार्ता' शब्दको निर्माण भएको हो । यो तत्पुरुष समासयुक्त शब्द हो । लोकसंस्कृति, लोकसाहित्यशास्त्र, लोकयान, लोकायान आदि शब्द पनि लोकवार्ताकै स्थानसँग गाँसिएर आएको पाइन्छ तथापि 'लोकवार्ता' शब्द नै बढी प्रयोगमा आएको शब्द हो । यसलाई मूलतः मौखिक/श्रव्य, दृश्य र चिन्तनमूलक गरी तीन प्रकारमा विभाजन गरिएको पाइन्छ ।

लोकवार्ता शब्द अङ्ग्रेजी 'फल्कलोर' शब्दको नेपाली रूपान्तरण हो । 'फल्कलोर' शब्दको निर्माण 'Folc' र 'Lore' दुई शब्दको संयोगबाट भएको हो । 'Folk' शब्द 'Folc' र 'Lore' शब्द 'Lar' बाट बनेको हो । 'Folc' को शाब्दिक अर्थ असंस्कृत, अशिक्षित, सामान्य जनसमुदाय हो भने 'Lar' को शाब्दिक अर्थ 'ज्ञान' अर्थात् 'सिकेको विषयवस्तु' भन्ने हुन्छ । लोकवार्ताले विगतको इतिहासलाई कलात्मक शैलीमा अभिव्यक्त गरेको हुन्छ । केवल लौकिक इतिहासबाट मात्र इतिहासका बहुमूल्य सम्पदाहरूको उद्धार, छानविन र सङ्कलन सम्भव छ भन्न उचित हुन्न । कुनै जाति विशेषको जातीय इतिहास सिर्जनामा सम्बन्धित जातिका लोकवार्ताभित्र लुकेछिपेका सामग्रीहरूको निकै ठूलो महत्त्व रहेको हुन्छ भन्ने कुरा पनि उत्तिकै मननीय छ (पौडेल, २०७४ : २९) । लोकवार्ताले समाजको यथार्थतालाई पनि कतै न कतै समावेश गरेर मात्रै आफूलाई अड्याएको हुन्छ ।

लोकवार्ताभित्रको मौखिक/श्रव्य प्रकारान्तर्गत लोकसाहित्य र लोकसङ्गीत पर्दछन् । श्रुतिपरम्पराबाट प्राप्त लोकज्ञान वा लोकभावनामा आधारित व्यक्तिविशेषको नभई अपठितहरूबाट सामूहिक ढङ्गले विभिन्न विधाका माध्यमबाट अभिव्यक्त हुने मौखिक भाषिक संरचनालाई लोकसाहित्य भनिन्छ (लुइटेल्, २०७६ : १३) । लोक+साहित्य मिलेर लोकसाहित्य शब्द बनेको छ । संस्कृतको 'लोक' दर्शने' धातुमा 'धञ्' (अ) प्रत्यय बनेको बनेको 'लोक' शब्दको अर्थ 'हेर्नु' भन्ने भए पनि नेपाली बृहत् शब्दकोश (२०७५) अनुसार 'लोक' शब्दको अर्थ 'ब्रह्माण्डको कुनै एक भाग अथवा खण्ड, संसार, जगत्, दुनियाँ' भन्ने हुन्छ । 'लोक' शब्दलाई सामान्य अर्थमा 'एउटा बुझाइ र संस्कारमा रमाउने सामान्य जनता' भनेर बोध गर्न सकिन्छ भने 'सहित' शब्दमा 'य' प्रत्यय जोडिएर 'साहित्य' शब्दको निर्माण भएको हुन्छ । 'लोक' र 'साहित्य' शब्दको मेलबाट तत्पुरुष समासद्वारा निर्मित 'लोकसाहित्य' शब्दको अर्थ 'लोकहितकारी भावनाले युक्त लालित्यमय वा भावपूर्ण अभिव्यक्ति' हो भन्ने हुन्छ । पूर्वीय

दर्शनान्तर्गत वेदमा लेखिएको ज्ञानलाई वैदिक र सोभन्दा फरक लोकजीवनमा आधारित ज्ञानलाई लौकिक भावको चिन्तनमा राखेर हेरेको देखिन्छ । यही आधारमा लोकसाहित्य लौकिक वर्गभित्र समाजपरक ढाँचामा समयानुकूलित भएको देखिन्छ । संस्कृत भाषामा सामान्यतः वेदमा जुन कुरा थिएन वा छैन त्यसलाई लौकिक भनी बुझिने गरेको पाइन्छ (पौडेल, २०७४ : १७) । यसरी लोकसाहित्यभित्र पर्ने लोककथाको सम्बन्ध हिजोको सभ्य र शिक्षित मानिससँगै गएर गाँसिन पुग्छ । भलै आज आएर अशिक्षित वर्गमा विकसित भए पनि लोकसाहित्य कतै न कतै शिक्षित वर्गकै पृष्ठभूमिबाट सिर्जित हुँदै आएको अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ । संरचनागत आधारबाट हेर्दा लोककथामा पनि 'लोक' र 'कथा' शब्दको सम्मिश्रण छ । 'लोक' शब्द र 'कथ' धातुमा 'आड' र 'टाप्' प्रत्यय जोडिएर बनेको 'कथा' शब्दबाट 'लोककथा' शब्दको निर्माण भएको छ ।

एउटा पुस्ताबाट अर्को पुस्तामा मौखिक तथा श्रुतिपरम्परामा सञ्चरित तथा हस्तान्तरित हुने लोककथामा केही सन्दर्भपरक परिवर्तित अवस्थाहरू देखा परेका हुन्छन् । लोककथा भन्न र सुन्न उमेर हदले असर पारेको देखिँदैन । यसर्थ लोकप्रियता पनि यसै अनुरूप कायम रहेको देखिन्छ । हाल आएर सम्पन्न र सहरियाभन्दा ग्रामीण समाज र सामान्य परिवेशका मानिसद्वारा यसलाई रुचाइएको र जोगाइएको हुन्छ भन्न सकिन्छ । यसलाई भन्न र सुन्न कुनै औपचारिक समयको आवश्यकता पर्दैन किनभने यसको मुख्य उद्देश्य मनोरञ्जन प्रदान गर्नु हो । यद्यपि कतिपय लोककथाहरू नीति उपदेश तथा सन्देशपरक देखिन्छन् तर तिनका माध्यमबाट पनि मनोरञ्जन नै प्रदान गर्ने उद्देश्य राखिएको हुन्छ । यिनमा तत्कालीन समाजको सोच, व्यवहार, आचरण, जीवनशैलीलाई सामयिक रूपमा प्रकट गरिएको पनि हुन्छ । अध्ययनका लागि छनोट गरिएको कथामा राजाको कथा, बाँदनीले श्राप पाएको, घटनाक्रमसँगै श्रापमुक्त भएको सन्दर्भले यी पक्षलाई समेट्छन् । लोककथामा समाजले निषिद्ध ठहराएका अनैतिक, नैतिक अथवा स्वीकृत; उभय प्रकारका आचरणहरू प्रकटित भएका हुन्छन् । त्यस्ता आचरणगत अभिव्यक्तिका माध्यमबाट अनुकरणीय वा सकारात्मक आचरणप्रति कुशलतापूर्वक स्वीकृत अथवा आग्रह-अनुग्रह प्रकटित भएका हुन्छन् (पौडेल, २०७४ : ३५) । यसमा प्रयुक्त भाषामा सरलता, सहजता, आञ्चलिक भाषाको प्रयोग भएको पाइन्छ । कतिपय सन्दर्भमा पद्य पनि मिश्रित गराइने हुँदा यसमा मिठास थपिन्छ, नै तथापि यो गद्य विधा हो । यसको अर्को पक्ष उत्कृष्टताको संरचनागत पृथक् पक्ष पनि हो । लोककथागत बुनोटमा आदिदेखि अन्त्यसम्म उत्सुकता भरिएको देखिन्छ । कौतुहलताले यस विधालाई जीवन्तता प्रदान गरेको हुन्छ ।

६. 'बाँदनी मैयाँको कथा' र तात्त्विक संयोजन

बाँदनी मैयाँको कथाले आदि, मध्य र अन्त्यको संयोजनलाई समेटेको छ । राजा प्रतापी हुनु र तिनका सात भाइ छोरा हुनुबिचको सम्बन्ध र विवाहको प्रसङ्गले कथामा पठनीय दृश्य सन्दर्भलाई प्रारम्भबाटै बोध गराएको छ । कथामा व्यक्त भएका घटनालाई रैखिक ढाँचामा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ । कान्छो राजकुमारकी बाँदनी श्रीमती रुखको टोड्कोबाट निस्कनु र पछि एउटा चिठी सोही टोड्कोमा राख्दा घटेका घटनाबिचको तारतम्य, खोस्रो बन्दा बाँदनीबाट परिवर्तित उसको रूप लगायतका प्रसङ्गगत सामीप्यतालाई कथामा एकपछि अर्को घटनाक्रममा मिलाइएको देखिन्छ ।

६.१ कथानक

(क) सैद्धान्तिक पक्ष

कथानक लोककथाको महत्वपूर्ण तत्त्व हो । कथानक भनेको घटनाहरूको श्रृङ्खलित व्यवस्था हो । कथानकले कथाका अन्य तत्त्वहरूलाई डोर्‍याएको हुन्छ । कथाकारको धारणा र मूल मर्मको अभिव्यक्तिका रूपमा आउने कथानकले कथाका अन्य तत्त्वहरूलाई विशेष आकर्षण प्रदान गरेको हुन्छ (भण्डारी र अन्य, २०६८ : ७) । लोककथाको कथानक सरल भाषाबाट प्रारम्भ भई विचित्रता विभिन्न मोड र उपमोडहरूमा विकसित हुँदै अगाडि बढ्छ र अन्त्यमा संयोग वा वियोग भएर टुङ्गिन्छ । कथाका पात्रले जीवन सङ्घर्षको मोड लिएर एउटा निश्चित परिणाम देखाउन थालेपछि कथा निश्चित गतिर्तर्फ उन्मुख हुन्छ (गिरी, २०७५ : ५२) । कथानकको टुङ्ग्याउनीमा मिलन, संयोग र सुखान्तताको वर्चस्व अधिक रहे तापनि केही कथानक विछोड, वियोग र दुःखान्तमा टुङ्गिएको पनि पाइन्छ (शर्मा र लुइटेल्, २०६९ : ३७५) । लोककथामा पौराणिक, काल्पनिक, स्वैरकाल्पनिक, अतिप्राकृतिक, सामाजिक तथा किंवदन्तीमूलक आदि जुनसुकै स्रोतबाट पनि कथावस्तुलाई लिइएको हुन्छ ।

वास्तवमा लोककथाको मुख्य तत्त्व नै कथानक हो । यसको प्रारम्भ र अन्त्यको प्रकृति पनि विशेष किसिमको हुन्छ । लोककथाको प्रारम्भ मूलतः 'एकादेशमा.....', 'परापूर्व कालमा.....', 'कुनै समयमा....', 'उहिले उहिले.....' आदि शब्द तथा पदावलीद्वारा भएको हुन्छ । मध्यभागमा शैलीगत प्रभाव, आञ्चलिकता आदिले प्रश्रय पाएको हुन्छ भने कथाको अन्त्यमा 'सुन्नेलाई सुनको माला, भन्नेलाई फूलको माला....' जस्ता उक्तिलाई समावेश गरिएको हुन्छ । लोककथाको कथानक छोटो, छरितो, प्रभावकारी हुनुका साथै रोचक र मार्मिक सहजतामा उनीएको हुन्छ । कतिपय लोककथाहरू हाल प्रयोगमा आउने लघुकथा जत्तिकै छोटो पनि हुन्छन् ।

(ख) विश्लेषण

कथावस्तुका आधारमा हेर्दा यस कथामा लोककथाकार बोधविक्रम अधिकारीले लोककथाकै शैली अनुरूप 'एकादेशमा एक प्रतापी राजा थिए.....' भनेर प्रारम्भ गरेका छन् । धेरैजसो लोककथामा राजारानीको कथा गाँसिएको देखिन्छ । यसमा सन्तानेश्वर महादेवका भक्त बनेका एकजना राजाका सात भाइ छोरा भएको कुराबाट कथाको उठान भएको छ । सातै भाइ धनुर्विद्यामा एकसे-एक निपुण थिए । राजाले सातै भाइ छोराहरूलाई एक-एक बाण हातमा थमाइदिए । यो बाण जसजसको घरमा गएर लाग्छ, त्यही-त्यही घरकी कन्यासँग तिमीहरूको विवाह गराइदिउँला भन्ने सर्त राखे :

'लौ बाबु हो ! तिमीहरूले एक-एक बाण छाड, जसको घरमा गएर लाग्छ, उसैलाई उसैउसै घरकी कन्या बिहा गरिदिउँला (पृ. ९०) ।'

यसपछि कान्छो छोरोको बाण एउटा रुखमा गएर लाग्नु, त्यहाँबाट एउटी बाँदनी निस्कनु, कान्छो छोरोको विवाह बाँदनीसँग हुनु यस कथाको आदि भाग हो ।

विवाहपश्चात् एक-एकओटा महल बनाई राखिदिनु, सबै छोरा-बुहारीले राजा-रानीलाई पालेसँग भोज खुवाउने व्यवस्था गर्नु, कान्छोलाई चिन्ता पर्नु, आफ्नो श्रीमान्को चिन्तालाई देखेर बाँदनीले एउटा चिठी आफू निस्केको रुखको टोड्कोमा खसाल्न भन्नु, चिठी खसालेपछि उनलाई कसैले धकेलेर पोखरीमा पुऱ्याइदिनु, फेरि कसैले बाहिर पाखामा निकालिदिनु, घर फर्कदा श्रीमती र महल नै सुन्दर अनि फरक देखिनु, बाँदनी श्रीमती परम सुन्दरी हुनु, श्रीमती यसअघि श्राप परेर बाँदनी भएको थाहा पाउनु, यो भव्यताप्रति दाजुहरूलाई डाहा हुनु, छ नै जना दाजुहरूले कान्छो राजकुमारलाई श्रीमतीको बाँदरको खोस्रो (प्रतिमा वा बोक्रो) कतै राखेको भए त्यसलाई डढाउन भन्नु, उसले बाँदरको खोस्रोलाई डढाउनु, त्यो खोस्रो जति डूढ्छ उति नै श्रीमती जल्दै ऐया र आत्थु भन्दै घरबाट निस्कनु, ऊ श्रीमतीका पछि-पछि जाँदा बाटामा फकिर, साधु, सन्यासी र महात्मासँग क्रमशः टोप, खराउ, जादुवाला लट्ठी र मलहम पाएको प्रसङ्ग कथामा अभिव्यक्त छ । साथमा टोपले त्यसलाई लगाएपछि अरूका लागि अदृश्य बनाइदिने, खराउले उडाएर इच्छाअनुसारको स्थानमा पुऱ्याउने, लट्ठीले अढ्वाएको कामलाई फत्ते गरिदिने र मलहमले श्रीमतीको पोलेको घाउलाई निको तुल्याउने विशेषतालाई कथामा बताइएको छ । आफ्नी श्रीमती मैयाँ पुष्करद्वीप राजाकी छोरी भएको कुरा महात्माबाट थाहा पाएपछि राजकुमार त्यतैतिर जाने निर्णयमा पुगेको प्रसङ्ग छ । यसका साथै बाटामा भेटिएका सबैले उसकी श्रीमती प्राप्त गर्ने र फर्कदा आफूलाई भेटाउन तथा आशीर्वाद लिन भन्नु, ती साधनको सहयोगमा श्रीमती भएको सहरमा पुग्नुसम्मको कथानक यस लोककथाको मध्य भाग हो ।

राजकुमार योगीको भेष धारण गरी खरानी घसेर बस्नु, अदृश्य शक्तिरूपी टोप लाएर घर-घर चहार्नु, उसको दर्शन गर्न आउनेहरूलाई घरको सबै वृत्तान्त बताइदिन थाल्नु, एवम् क्रममा यो खबर त्यहाँका राजाका दरबारसम्म पुग्नु, राजालाई आफ्नी छोरीको डढेको शरीर र समस्यालाई ती योगीले पूरा गर्लान् भन्ने लाग्नु, राजाका मन्त्रीले उनलाई रिक्काएर दरबारमा ल्याउन नसक्नु, यसपछि राजाले नै आएर विभिन्न तरहले विन्ती गरेपछि योगीरूपी राजकुमार दरबार जानु, मैयाँको त्यो अवस्था देखेर चिन्ताग्रस्त हुनु, मैयाँका घाउलाई धोईपखाली मलहम लगाइदिनु, मैयाँको शरीरमा अचम्मको परिवर्तन र सुधार हुनु, योगीरूपी राजकुमारको सबैले प्रशंसा गर्नु, आधा रातमा योगीरूपी राजकुमार अदृश्य हुने टोप लाएर मैयाँको कोठामा पुग्नु, मैयाँले आफ्नै पतिदेव भएको थाहा पाएपछि खुशीको सीमा नरहनु, मैयाँ ठीक भएपछि राजाले आफूसँग भएको जे मागे पनि दिने बाचा गर्नु, योगीरूपी राजकुमारले तिनै उपचार गरेकी छोरी माग्नु, राजा क्रोधित भएर अपराध लागे पनि छोरी नदिने र दरबारबाट बाहिर निकाल्ने आदेश दिनु, उसले सन्यासीले दिएको लट्ठीलाई मैयाँबाहेक सबैको ढाडमा हिकार्उने आदेश दिनु, सबै त्राही-त्राही हुनु, राजा छोरी दिन मञ्जुर हुनु, योगीरूपी राजकुमारले आफ्नो

राजकुमार भएको स्वरूप देखाउनु, राजा र अन्य त्यहाँका मानिसहरू खुशी हुनु, छोरी-ज्वाईलाई विदा गर्नु, राजकुमारले बाटामा फकिर, साधु, सन्यासी र महात्मासँग भेट्दै आशीर्वाद लिएका घटना वर्णित छन् । यसका साथै उनीहरूको सामानलाई फिर्ता दिएर आनन्दले रहनुसम्मको घटनाको तारतम्यमा यो लोककथाको अन्त्य भएको छ ।

लोककथालाई कलात्मक संयोजन गरेर उत्सुकताप्रद तुल्याइएको छ । आफ्नी श्रीमतीका लागि पुरुषार्थ देखाउनुपर्ने एउटा संस्कार एकातिर यसमा प्रकट भएको छ भने अर्कातिर भाइभाइबिचमा आपसी ईर्ष्याबोध हुने कुटिल सोचलाई स्पष्ट देखाइएको छ :

‘कान्छाकी बाँदनी स्वास्नी थिई, अहिले यस्ती परम सुन्दरी कसो गरी भई ? फेरि भाइले त्यस्तो ऐश्वर्य कहाँबाट पायो र यस्तो तवरसँग सबको सत्कार गर्न पायो (पृ. ९२) ?’

कथामा भाइभाइले पनि कमजोरको प्रगतिमा रमाउनुको साटो दुर्गति नै भइरहोस् भन्ने चाहना राखेको देखाइएको छ । सात भाइमध्ये छ जनाले कान्छोलाई कुभलो चिताई नराम्रो बुद्धि हालेर भ्रममा पारिदिनुले पनि हिजोको समाजमा सकारात्मक कुरामा भन्दा नकारात्मक कुरामा बढी एकता हुने पद्धति रहेछ भन्ने कुरा बोध हुन्छ । यस लोककथामा उत्सुकता, जादुगरी घटना, मनोरञ्जक विषयले अन्ततः समाजमा कुभलो चिताउने दाजुको हार भएको देखाएर पूर्वीय सुखान्त साहित्यकै प्रभावलाई देखाइएको छ ।

६.२ चरित्र

(क) सैद्धान्तिक पक्ष

कथामा कथानकअनुसार भूमिका निर्वाह गर्ने व्यक्ति वा पात्रलाई चरित्र भनिन्छ । चरित्रले कथानकलाई अगाडि बढाएको हुन्छ । कथानकका उपकरणका रूपमा रहेका द्वन्द्व, क्रियाव्यापार, कुतूहलता आदिलाई चलायमान तुल्याउने प्रमुख अङ्ग नै पात्र हो (भण्डारी र अन्य, २०६८ : ८) । लोककथामा मानवीय र मानवेतर दुवै प्रकृतिका पात्रलाई उपयोग गरिएको हुन्छ । देवीदेवता, राक्षस, भूतप्रेत, बोक्सी, वनस्पति आदि चरित्रलाई लोककथामा प्रयोग गरिएको पाइन्छ । यिनका क्रियाकलापका आधारमा मानवेतर वस्तु तथा चीजलाई पनि मानवीकरण गरी भूमिका निर्वाह गराइएको हुन्छ । कथाको चरित्रमा सजीवता, स्वाभाविकता, मनोवैज्ञानिक विश्लेषणमा आन्तरिक द्वन्द्वको स्थापना हुनु राम्रो मानिन्छ (गिरी, २०७५ : ५२) । भूमिकाका आधारमा, मानव-मानवेतरका आधारमा, सामाजिक मर्यादाका आधारमा, प्रतिकूल-अनुकूल स्वभावका आधारमा, व्यक्ति वा वर्गगत आधारमा, गतिशील र गतिहीन प्रकृतिका आधारमा लोककथाका पात्रलाई विभिन्न तवरले वर्गीकृत गर्न सकिन्छ । यसर्थ कथामा मुख्यतः उसको कार्यकलाप, उसका कुराकानी, समाख्याताको टिप्पणी आदिका माध्यमबाट चरित्रलाई देखाउने वा प्रस्तुत गर्ने कार्य गरिन्छ (शर्मा र लुइटेल्, २०६३ : ३७६) । लोककथामा प्रयोग भएका कतिपय पात्रहरू दिव्यशक्ति, अद्भूत शक्ति र अर्द्धदैविक शक्तिवाला देखिन्छन् । यस्ता

शक्ति प्राप्त गर्ने पात्र नै विशेषतः लोककथामा नायक, नायिका वा खलनायकका रूपमा प्रस्तुत हुन्छन् । यिनीहरूका कार्यकलापले कथामा असाधारण तथा रोमाञ्चक बनाई गति दिने काम गर्दछ । पूर्वीय दर्शन र संस्कृतिको प्रभावका कारण यसबाट प्रभावित समाजमा प्रयुक्त लोककथामा मूलतः आदर्शवादी चरित्रले नै विजय हासिल गरेको देखाइन्छ ।

(ख) विश्लेषण

अ. राजकुमार

‘बाँदनी मैयाँको कथा’ लोककथामा प्रमुख पुरुष पात्रका रूपमा राजाको कान्छो राजकुमार (रूपधारण गरेको योगी) हो । उसमा नायकभित्र हुनुपर्ने असल गुणहरू छन् । राजकुमार अनुकूल वा आदर्श, व्यक्तिगत, मञ्चीय, बद्ध, स्थिर पात्र हो । ऊ आफू उपरको आज्ञालाई पालन गर्ने आदर्श पात्र हो । उसले दाजुहरूको कपटपूर्ण वचनलाई आदर्शवादी भएर पालना गरेको छ :

‘तिम्री दुलहीले त्यो बाँदनीको खोस्रो कतै लुकाएर राखेकी होलिन । त्यो खोस्रो भएसम्म तिनले बाँदनी हुन छोड्ने छैनन् तर तिम्रीले माझचोकमा लगेर त्यो खोस्रो जलाइदियो भने उनी सदा परमसुन्दरी युवती नै रहनेछिन् (पृ.९२) ।’

राजकुमार पत्नीलाई माया गर्ने र आफ्नो गल्लीलाई स्वीकार गरी कमजोरीमा झुक्न जान्ने व्यक्ति हो । उसले आफ्नी श्रीमती मैयाँसँग अन्तमा पुष्करद्वीपका दरबारमा हुँदै माफी मागेको छ : ‘मैयाँ ! बिराएँ, दाजुहरूको बहकावमा लागेर मैले तिम्रो दुर्दशा पारें, मलाई क्षमा गर (पृ. ९४) ।’ ऊ आफ्नी श्रीमतीलाई चोखो माया गर्ने र साहसी व्यक्ति पनि हो । श्रीमतीको उपचारमा हतारो गर्नुपर्ने कुरामा भने राजकुमारको कमजोरी देखिन्छ । आपत् परेका बखतमा उसले योगीकै रूपमा रहिरहनुले उसमा सम्मानको दम्भ रहेको कुरा बोध भएको छ । ‘राजकर्मचारीहरूले योगीकहाँ गएर राजाको हुकुम सुनाए तर योगीले टेरपुच्छरै लाएनन्, सब हार खाएर फर्के (पृ.९३) ।’ यद्यपि, राजाको आग्रहपश्चात् राजकुमार महलमा पुगेर आफ्नी श्रीमतीको अवस्थाप्रति चिन्तित नभएको भने होइन- ‘दरबारमा पुगी मैयाँको खोपीमा गएर उनको दुर्दशा देख्ता योगीको मन रहन सकेन । आफ्नो मनलाई खूब बाँधेर योगीले मैयाँको घाउहरू धोई, पखाली उनीहरूमा (घाउमा) मलहम लगाइदिए (पृ.९४) ।’ राजकुमारले रूप बदलेर भए पनि आफ्नी श्रीमतीको उपचार गर्ने लक्ष्यलाई पूरा गर्नु आपसी प्रेमको उदाहरण हो ।

नदीनाला, देशदेशान्तर पार गरी, घर पत्ता लगाई उपचार गरेपश्चात् सन्धो बनाएर पत्नीलाई सच्चा प्रेम गरेको स्पष्ट देखिन्छ । ऊ आफ्नो दायित्वबाट चुकेको देखिँदैन । उसले आफ्नो बुवाको आज्ञामुताबिक नै कर्म सम्भेर बाँदनीसँग विवाह गर्नु, दाजुहरूको झुटो प्रपञ्चलाई पनि आज्ञा सम्भेर पालना गर्नु र श्रीमतीलाई

पनि चोरेर वा नभनी ल्याउनुको साटो विधिमुताबिक पुष्करद्वीप राजाका दरबारबाट ससम्मान लिएर आउनुले यो कुरा पुष्टि हुन्छ ।

आ. मैयाँ

‘बाँदनी मैयाँको कथा’ लोककथाकी अर्की प्रमुख नारी पात्र मैयाँलाई श्राप परेको थियो । मैयाँ जादुतत्त्वद्वारा निर्मित पात्र हो । ऊ मानवेतर पात्र बादनीबाट सुन्दर युवती भएर मानवमा परिणत भएकी छे । लोककथामा पाइने जादुगरी र जिज्ञासालाई यस कथाकी प्रमुख नारी पात्र मैयाँको भूमिकाले पुष्टि गरेको छ । मैयाँ कान्छा राजकुमारकी श्रीमती तथा आदर्श पात्र हो । बाँदनी अवस्थादेखि मानव रूपसम्ममा नै मैयाँ यस कथाकी प्रमुख नारी पात्र, आदर्श, अनुकूल, स्थिर सोच, मञ्चीय, बद्ध पात्र हो । मानव पात्रबाट मानवेतर पात्रमा परिणत भएकी तथा जादुगरी प्रभावमा परेकी पात्र भएकाले मैयाँ लोककथाको विशेषताभित्र पर्ने प्रमुख पात्र हो । उसमा पनि राजकुमार जस्तै सहनशीलता र आदर्शताको भाव देखिन्छ । आफ्ना श्रीमानले जेठाजुहरूको षड्यन्त्रमा परी आफूबाट गल्ती भएको र मैयाँले दुःख पाउनु परेको भावलाई व्यक्त गर्दा दिएको प्रतिक्रियाबाट पनि यो कुरा छर्लङ्ग हुन्छ :

‘त्यसमा हजुरको केही दोष छैन । जो हुनु थियो सो भइगयो, अबदेखि मलाई बाँदनी भएर रहन परेन (पृ. ९५) ।’

कथाको प्रारम्भदेखि अन्त्यसम्म मैयाँको भूमिका रहेको छ । यसर्थ ऊ यस कथाकी मुख्य पात्र हो । उसकै नामबाट यो कथालाई शीर्षकीकृत गरिएकाले पनि यस कथामा मैयाँको उपस्थिति महत्त्वपूर्ण रहेको छ ।

यो लोककथामा राजकुमारका छ जना दाजुहरू खलपात्रका रूपमा आएका छन् । यसका अतिरिक्त यस कथामा कान्छा राजकुमारबाहेकका छ जना दाजु र भाउजुहरू, राजा, पुष्करद्वीप राजा, फकीर, साधु, सन्यासी, महात्मा लगायत राजकुमार र मैयाँका राज्यका मन्त्री तथा कर्मचारीहरूको सहभागिता रहेको छ तथापि केन्द्रीय भूमिकामा भने राजकुमार र मैयाँ नै उपस्थित छन् ।

६.३ परिवेश

(क) सैद्धान्तिक पक्ष

लोककथामा पात्रहरूले भूमिका निर्वाह गरेको समय, देशकाल वा वातावरण तथा अवस्थाको आँकलनीय क्षेत्रलाई परिवेश भन्नुपर्ने हुन्छ । लोककथाभित्र कात्थनिक घटना हुने हुँदा कथाको परिवेश पनि पारलौकिक प्रकृतिको हुन्छ । स्थान र समयका साथै स्थान विशेषको वा समय विशेषको रीतिथिति, आचरण, व्यवहार, रहनसहन, विश्वास, मान्यता, प्राकृतिक पृष्ठभूमि, भौगोलिक अवस्थिति, जीवन र सोचाइ आदि पनि परिवेशभित्रै आउँदछन् (शर्मा र लुइटेल्, २०६३ : ३७६) । लोककथाको परिवेश लौकिक र अलौकिक दुवै हुन सक्छ ।

कथाको प्रकृति र रुचि क्षेत्रका आधारमा सामाजिक लोककथामा प्रायः लौकिक तथा धार्मिक, पौराणिक र अतिरञ्जित कथाहरूमा प्रायः अलौकिक परिवेशको चित्रण गरिएको हुन्छ । लोककथाका पात्रहरूले पत्याउनै नसकिने अद्भुत कार्य गर्ने र लोकलाई छक्क पार्ने गर्दछन् । यो लोककथाको आफ्नै विशिष्ट पक्ष हो (पराजुली र गिरी, २०६८ : १८४) । लोककथामा प्रायः स्थानीय परिवेश र आञ्चलिकता झल्किन्छ । यसमा कथानक र पात्रलाई विचित्र तवरमा जोडी कथाको सङ्गठनमा चामत्कारिकता थपिएको हुन्छ । यसर्थ लोककथाको परिवेशले तत्कालीन लोकजीवनको वस्तुस्थिति र लवाइखवाइ तथा संस्कारलाई चिनाएको हुन्छ ।

(ख) विश्लेषण

प्रस्तुत कथा मूलतः लौकिक परिवेशमा नै संरचित भए पनि त्यहाँका घटनामा जादुगरी परिवेश छ । प्रारम्भमा राजकुमारको राज्यतिर र खोस्रो जलाएकाले मैयाँको शरीर बल्न थालेपछिको परिवेश पुष्करद्वीप राज्यतिरको कथामा आधारित छ । घटनाका आधारमा हेर्दा कान्छा राजकुमारतिरको एउटा घटना र मैयाँको माइती दरबार पुष्करद्वीपको अर्को घटना गरी कथामा दुई खण्डको परिवेश छ । कथामा हिन्दू दर्शनगत विश्वासको परिवेश छ । यस दर्शनको प्रभाव र विश्वासमा अडेको रूढलाई कथाले प्रारम्भबाटै टिपेको छ । सन्तानेश्वर महादेवको भक्तले सन्तान प्राप्त गर्ने विश्वास गरिएको छ : 'सन्तानेश्वर महादेवका परमभक्त हुनाले उनलाई सन्तानको केही कमी थिएन । राजकुमारहरू मात्र सातवटा थिए (पृ. ९०) ।' यस कथामा घटनाका हिसाबमा राजसी चालचलन, विवाह जस्तो कुरालाई खेलाँची मानिएको तर आदर्शता र कर्मलाई स्वीकार गरिएको परिवेशलाई नियाल्न सकिन्छ । राजाले आफ्नो सबैभन्दा प्यारो कान्छो छोरालाई बाँदनीसँग कसरी बिहे गरिदिने भन्ने चिन्ता भइरहँदा राजकुमारले 'मेरो कर्ममा यस्तै लेखेको रहेछ, म यसैसित बिहा गर्छु (पृ. ९०)' भन्नुले पनि कर्ममा विश्वास गर्ने सामाजिक परिवेश चित्रित छ ।

कथाको प्रकृति र रुचिका आधारमा हेर्दा यस कथामा अतिरञ्जित घटनाहरू आएका देखिन्छन् । फकिर, साधु, सन्यासी र महात्माद्वारा राजकुमारलाई दिइएका समग्रीहरू सामान्य लौकिक जीवनभन्दा पृथक् रूपमा कथामा व्यक्त भएर आएका छन् :

पत्र	चीज / वस्तु	प्रकृति (तिलस्मी विशेषता)	राजकुमारद्वारा प्रयोग
फकिर	टोप (टोपी)	जसलाई लगाएपछि आफूले देख्ने तर अरूले आफूलाई नदेख्ने (पारलौकिक घटना)	घर-घरमा गएर विवरण लिन सहज हुनु र योगीको भेष धारण गरेर सबै बताउँदै छिट्टै लोकप्रियता कमाउनु
साधु	खराउ	चाहेको ठाउँमा उडाएर लैजाने (पारलौकिक घटना)	टोप लगाएर नदेखिने भई घरघरमा जानु तथा मैयाँको कोठामा जान सहयोग पुग्नु

सन्यासी	लट्ठी	जे कुरा अह्नाए पनि काम फत्ते गरेर आउने (पारलौकिक घटना)	आफूले उपचार गरेर निको तुल्याएकी छोरी (मैयाँ) लाई माग्दा राजाद्वारा अपमान गरी गलहत्याउन भनेपछि उपयोग गर्नु
महात्मा	मलहम	दुई मात्रामा आराम हुने चीज (लौकिक घटना)	मैयाँको घाउलाई निको तुल्याउनु

चामत्कारिक सन्दर्भको प्रस्तुति लोककथाको आफ्नै विशेषता पनि हो । मूलतः राजा, मन्त्री, भोज, गरगहना र शृङ्गार जस्ता पात्र र घटना कथाभित्र आएकाले यो कथाको परिवेश खानदानी परम्परामा आधारित रहेको देखिन्छ । समाजभित्र आपसमा नै डाहा गर्ने तथा यस कुरामा छ-छ जना दाजुभाइ नै एक भएको घटनालाई हेर्दा नकारात्मक सोच बोक्नेको एकता हुने परिवेशलाई नियाल्न सकिन्छ । तथापि, मर्यादा र आदर्शलाई पालना गर्ने राजकुमार (राजाका कान्छा छोरा) र मैयाँको सोचको विजय भएको देखाउनुले 'सत्यमेव जयते' लाई बोध गराउँछ ।

यस कथामा भेष धारण गर्ने, जादुगरीका कुरा, रूप बदलिने, आशीर्वाद प्राप्त गर्ने लगायतका घटनाले पनि लोककथात्मक पृष्ठाधारलाई शिरोधार्य गरिएको छ । प्रेमाकर्षणमा जटिल हुने र बहादुरी देखाउनुपर्ने शैली यस कथाभित्र पाइन्छ । योगीरूपी राजकुमार राजा लिन आएपछि मात्र दरबार जानु र राजकुमारले छोरी दिएपछि मात्र लिएर आउनुले दम्भ र स्वाभिमानको प्रकृतिलाई बोध गराइएको छ :

‘महाराज ! म हजुरकी छोरीको लायक नभएको होइन । यथार्थमा म राजकुमार हुँ, उसमा पनि हजुरकी छोरी पहिले नै मेरी भैसकेकी छिन् (पृ. ९५) ।’

असल र पवित्र प्रेमको आदर्श परिवेशलाई यस कथामा चित्रण गरिएको छ । उक्त समयमा आदर्श प्रेमका लागि त्याग र सत्यतामा विश्वास रहेको थियो भन्न सकिन्छ । तत्कालीन परिवेश तथा आजको ग्रामीण नेपाली मौलिकताको झुल्लो कथाभित्र छ । यसर्थ प्रस्तुत बाँदनी मैयाँको कथामा ग्रामीण नेपाली समाजको सोच र वास्तविकतालाई प्रस्तुत गरिएको पुष्टि हुन्छ ।

६.४ उद्देश्य

(क) सैद्धान्तिक पक्ष

लोकसाहित्यले विशेष गरेर मनोरञ्जन प्रदान गर्ने गराउने उद्देश्य राखे पनि आदर्शताको पाठलाई सिकाएको देखिन्छ । शिष्ट साहित्यको रचना कुनै न कुनै उद्देश्यका सारमा भएको हुन्छ । श्रोतालाई खुशी प्रदान गर्ने तथा बच्चादेखि बूढा उमेरसम्मका वर्गलाई एकैसाथ राख्ने र एकै तवरले मनोरञ्जन दिने खुबी लोककथाभित्र हुन्छ । यसका अतिरिक्त नैतिक आदर्शताको सन्देश सिकाउनु, शिक्षा र उपदेश दिनु, लोककल्याणमा

लाग्न प्रेरणा दिनु, कृषि-पशुपालन आदि कर्म र पेसामा रहँदा आपसी सद्भाव र भाइचारा कायम राख्नु, तत्कालीन समाजलाई सही मार्ग दर्शन प्रदान गर्नु जस्ता थुप्रै उद्देश्यलाई साथमा गाँसिएको हुन्छ भन्न सकिन्छ। यद्यपि, त्यही समय र परिवेशलाई हेर्दा तत्कालीन समयको समाजलाई सकारात्मक बाटोमा लाग्न उत्प्रेरणा दिनु लोकसाहित्य तथा लोककथाको उद्देश्य रहेको बुझिन्छ।

लोकसाहित्यको सिर्जना विश्वका नाना क्षेत्रमा बसोबास गर्ने मानव समुदायको परिस्थितिमा भएको भए पनि मूलतः ती सबै समुदायका लोकसाहित्यको गठन वा संरचना प्रायः समान रहेको पाइन्छ (पौडेल, २०७४ : ३७)। यसै आधारमा नैतिक आदर्शको शिक्षा प्रदान गर्नु, धर्मको प्रचार गर्नु जस्ता पक्षहरू लोककथाभित्र समेटिएका हुन्छन्। बौद्धिक ज्ञान, दया-माया, उत्साह, सान्त्वना, वीरता, उपदेश, क्षणिक आनन्द, मानसिक र शारीरिक जाँगर प्रदान गराउने जस्ता तत्कालीन आवश्यकतामुखी उद्देश्यमा लोककथाको संरचना कसिलो भएको पाइन्छ। लोककथा खास स्थान र समयसँग नभएका सम्बन्धित आख्यान हुन् (बराल, २०७६ : १७९)। लोककथाको उद्देश्यलाई स्थान र समय अनुरूप व्याख्या गर्नुभन्दा मनोरञ्जनप्रद रहेर आदर्श ज्ञान सिकाउने साहित्यिक गुणका आधारमा हेरिनु बढी सान्दर्भिक हुन्छ। वर्तमान समयको जस्तो भुल्ने र भुलाउने भौतिक स्रोत साधनको विकास नहुनु र खेती किसानी पेसामा आवद्ध हुनुपर्दा यसो बसीवियाँलो गर्ने, मेलापात, गोठालो जाँदा भेला भएर हासपरिहास गर्ने उद्देश्यले लोककथाको रचना हुन्थ्यो भन्न सकिन्छ।

(ख) विश्लेषण

‘बाँदनी मैयाँको कथा’ लोककथाले मनोरञ्जनका साथमा नैतिक आदर्शताको सन्देशलाई बोध गराएको देखिन्छ। कथाकार अधिकारीले यस कथामा कथागत सिलसिलाको बुनोटमा ध्यान पुऱ्याएकाले पनि कथानकमा मिठास भरिएको छ। राजकुमारकी श्रीमती बाँदनी हुँदा, श्रीमतीको सल्लाहबमोजिम रुखको टोड्कोमा चिठी हाल्न लाग्दा कसैले पोखरीमा खसाल्दा, मैयाँलाई आगो लाग्दा, राजकुमार र मैयाँको वियोग हुँदा, राजकुमार मैयाँको कोठामा पुग्दा, राजाले भेषधारी राजकुमारीलाई मैयाँ नदिने भनी बाचालाई तोड्दा पाठक वर्ग चिन्ता र कौतूहलताको पोखरीमा डुबुल्की मार्न पुग्छन्।

प्रस्तुत लोककथा संयोगान्त विशेषता बमोजिम नै संयोजित छ। यसमा जादुतत्त्वको माध्यमबाट श्रोतालाई आनन्द दिन चाहेको घटना पनि सशक्त बनेको छ। कर्मवादी विचार, आदर्शवादी सोच तथा आज्ञाकारी मर्यादालाई कथामा बोध गराउन खोजिएको छ। साँचो प्रेमको सफलता र त्यागलाई यस कथाले मूल रूपमा देखाएको छ। मैयाँका बुवाले राजकुमारको साँचो प्रेमलाई सम्मान गर्दै भनेको कुराले यसलाई पुष्टि गर्छ :

‘मेरी छोरी त्यस्तो आपत्मा परेको बेलामा नदीनाला, देशदेशावर नाघी उनलाई पत्ता लगाई यिनले निको समेत पारे भने यिनको प्रेम सच्चा रहेछ, भन्ने विचारले फुलेर राजाले अनेक धनदौलत, लावालस्करसाथ मैयाँलाई योगीको भेष लिएका राजकुमारलाई

सुम्पिदिण (पृ. ९६) ।

हृदयबाट गरिएको समर्पणको भावनात्मक विषयका रूपमा यस कथाभिन्न राजकुमार र मैयाँप्रतिको समर्पणलाई देखाइएको छ । यिनीहरूविच आपसमा सद्भाव राख्ने विषयले कथालाई सौन्दर्यपरक तुल्याइदिएको छ । पति-पत्नीको गाढा प्रेम हुनुपर्ने सामाजिक मर्म, जोगी-सन्तको अर्ति मान्ने सांस्कृतिक सोच, पारिवारिक मर्यादा र सम्मानमा कटिबद्ध हुने लगायतका लौकिक आदर्शभावलाई कथाले बोध गराएको छ । यो कथाको मूल उद्देश्य आदर्शवादी प्रेमको प्रकटीकृत सत्यताको कर्म र विश्वासवादी सक्रियता हो । फलतः यसमा मर्यादा र दायित्वको उद्बोधन समेत भएको छ । कथाका माध्यमबाट तत्कालीन समाजको विचार, भावना, विश्वास, चालचलन, भोगविलासी शैली, राजामहाराजाको प्रभाव, साधुसन्तको मन्त्र-तन्त्रादि शक्ति प्रयोगको संस्कार, आयुर्वेदको उपयोग, बाचा-बन्धन गर्ने परम्परा, अन्ततः सत्यको जित हुनुपर्ने जस्ता पूर्वीय दर्शनका विविध मान्यतालाई समाविष्ट गराउने अभिष्ट राखिएको पुष्टि हुन्छ ।

६.५ भाषाशैली

(क) सैद्धान्तिक पक्ष

लोकसाहित्य प्रस्तुतीकरणको शैली लोकभाषामा हुन्छ । लोकसाहित्यमा प्रयुक्त भाषा लोकजीवनको जनबोलीमा आधारित हुन्छ । यसर्थ लोकसाहित्यमा स्थानीय भाषिकाको प्रभाव रहेको हुन्छ । लोकसाहित्यमा प्रयुक्त भाषिकागत प्रभावका आधारमा हेर्दा लोककथाको भाषा सरल, सहज र बोधगम्य हुन्छ । साना बालबच्चादेखि वृद्धसम्मलाई समेट्ने हुँदा लोककथामा मूलतः अभिधात्मक भाषाकै बढी प्रयोग हुन्छ । छोटोछोटो र सहज प्रकृतिका भाषाको बाहुल्यता हुनु लोककथाको आफ्नै विशेषता हो । यसमा उच्चकुलीन घरानियाँ वर्गले मात्र नभई सामान्य मानिसले पनि बुझ्ने प्रकारको तार्किक विकास हुन्छ र यो गार्हस्थप्रधान कथा (Household) हुने हुँदा सरल हुन्छ (बराल, २०७६ : १८१) । लोककथाको माध्यम पद्यमा नभएर गद्य भाषामा हुन्छ तथापि कतिपय अवस्थामा विचविचमा पद्यको मिश्रण भएको पनि पाइन्छ । यसरी पद्यको मिश्रणले अभ्र श्रुतिरम्यता थपेको देखिन्छ । फलतः कथालाई प्रभावकारी र अविस्मरणीय बनाइदिन्छ । यो एक प्रकारको शैली वा तरिका हो । सबै प्रकारका लोककथाहरूको शैली लोकशैलीमा हुने गर्दछ (पराजुली र गिरी, २०६८ : १८७) । लोककथाभिन्न स्थानीय स्तरमा प्रचलित विभिन्न उखान, टुक्का, गाउँ खाने कथा, उपकथाको संयोजन, थेगो आदिको मिश्रण भएको पाइन्छ । मौखिक आधारमा एक पुस्ताबाट अर्को पुस्तामा हस्तान्तरित हुने अलिखित साहित्य भएकाले यसमा केही पुस्तागत परिवर्तनीय प्रभाव परेको हुन्छ ।

मिथक र लोककथाको सम्बन्धलाई हेर्ने हो भने शैलीगत आधारमा व्यापक भिन्नता रहेको देखिन्छ । मिथकमा पनि स्वैरकल्पना हुन्छ तर त्यो यथार्थ जीवनप्रद नै हुन्छ । लोककथामाचाहिँ अलौकिक स्वैरकल्पना मात्रै हावी हुन्छ । कथालाई प्रस्तुत गरिने

मौखिक प्रस्तुतीकरणमा शैली वा ढङ्गको प्रभाव रहने हुँदा लोककथालाई वर्णनात्मक विधाको स्थानमा राखेर हेर्न सकिन्छ। शिक्षित वर्गले मात्रै बोध गर्न सक्ने, अतिप्राकृतिक, गहन भावको प्रस्तुति रहने जस्ता गुणले मिथकमा आद्यबिम्बको प्रयोग ज्यादा हुने हुन्छ। मिथक र लोककथाहरू पहिले मौखिक परम्पराबाटै विकसित भएका भए तापनि भौगोलिक दूरी तथा समयको गतिका कारण लोककथामा जस्तो परिवर्तन देखा पर्छ, त्यो मिथकमा देखिँदैन (बराल, २०७६ : १७८)। लोककथा भन्ने र सुन्ने विधा भएकाले पनि आपसमा वक्ता र श्रोताको अवस्था र परिवेशगत प्रभाव रहन्छ। वक्ताको कला र स्पष्टताले श्रोतालाई प्रभाव ग्रहण गराउन मद्दत पुग्ने वा नपुग्ने भन्ने हुन्छ। लोककथाको शैलीमा अर्थको जटिलता तथा बिम्ब र प्रतीकको प्रधानता हुँदैन (शर्मा र लुइटेल्, २०६३ : २७७)। कतिपय लोककथाको शैलीगत प्रयोगलाई हेर्दा कथाको प्रारम्भमा 'एकादेशमा....., परापूर्वकालमा....., कुनै समयमा....., उहिले उहिले.....' जस्ता शब्द तथा पदावलीहरूको प्रयोग भएको हुन्छ, भने अन्तमा 'सुन्नेलाई सुनको माला, भन्नेलाई फूलको माला, यो कथा वैकुण्ठ जाला' जस्ता उक्तिहरूलाई प्रयोग गरिएको देखिन्छ। यसर्थ लोककथाको शैलीगत सहजता र कौतुहलताको स्वरैकाल्पनिक सुगठन र चामत्कारिकताले पाठकप्रिय बन्न सक्ने सम्भाव्यता बढी हुन्छ।

(ख) विश्लेषण

कथाकार बोधविक्रम अधिकारीले लोककथात्मक भाषाशैली अनुरूप प्रस्तुत 'बाँदनी मैयाँको कथा' लोककथालाई संयोजन गरेका छन्। कथाको प्रारम्भ 'एकादेशमा.....' बाट भएको छ, भने अन्त्यचाहिँ 'सुन्नेलाई सुनको माला.....' मा गएर टुङ्गिएको छ। यस कथामा प्रयुक्त भाषा सरल, सहज र बोधगम्य छ। लोककथामा घटना र चरित्रको संयोजनको चातुर्यता आवश्यक रहेको हुन्छ, जुन कुरालाई प्रस्तुत कथामा समावेश गरिएको छ। राजकुमार र बाँदनीको विहे गराई बाँदनीलाई मान्छे बनाएर चामत्कारिक पक्षको संयोजन गरिएको छ। त्यसैले यस कथामा आएका पात्र र घटनाको पूर्वापर सहसम्बन्ध, सिलसिलेवार तारतम्य संयोजित देखिन्छ। साधु, जोगी, सन्यासी र महात्माले दिएका वस्तु र आशीर्वादद्वारा यस कथाको प्रमुख पात्र राजकुमारलाई साहसी र वीर बनाउन मद्दत पुऱ्याइएको देखिन्छ। यो कथा अलिकति सामाजिक पृष्ठभूमिसँग लौकिक जीवनमुखी नै बन्न गएको छ। आदि, मध्य र अन्त्यको सुगठित संयोजनभित्र सुखान्त घटनालाई जोडेर पाठकमा मनोरञ्जन प्रदान गर्ने उद्देश्य राखिएको छ। यसमा मैयाँको नामबाट कथाको शीर्षक चयन गराएर राजकुमारलाई शूरवीर पात्र बनाइएको देखिन्छ।

कथामा प्रयुक्त भाषाशैली पात्रगत शैलीभन्दा घटनामुखी रहेको छ। यसर्थ रीतिक्षेत्रका आधारमा यो घटनाप्रधान कथा हो। यसमा एकपछि अर्को घटनालाई सावधानीपूर्वक बुनिएको छ। 'राजाका सात भाइ छोरा-कान्छाले बाँदनी श्रीमती पाउनु-बाँदनीबाट मान्छे हुनु-जल्लु-राजकुमारले फर्काएर ल्याउनु र आनन्दले बस्नु' यस कथाको मूल

संरचना हो । कथाकारले कथावस्तुलाई वर्णनात्मक शैली तथा घटनालाई रैखिक शैलीमा चर्चा गरेका छन् । यी घटनालाई हेर्दा बाँदनी मान्छे बनेपछि नै कथा सकिएको छ तर सुन्दर युवती बनेकी मैयाँको बाँदरको खोस्रो बाँकी रहेको र दाजुहरूको कपटलाई नबुझेर कान्छो राजकुमारले त्यसलाई जलाउँदा मैयाँ जल्नु अर्को गाँसिएको घटना हो । अतः यो थोरै संवादात्मक र धेरै घटनाप्रधान बनेको कथा हो ।

कथामा सन्दर्भगत प्रस्तुतिलाई कथाकारको शैलीगत अवधारणाले समेटेको छ, '....शरीर दनदनी बलिरहेको थियो, अग्निको दाह सहन नसकेर 'मरें बाबा' भनेर चिच्याउँदै दगुरेकी थिइन् (पृ.९२) ।' यसमा अनुकरणात्मक शब्द प्रयोग, भावप्रवाहको गत्यात्मकता, वर्णनात्मक कथन अर्थात् तृतीय पुरुषको प्राधान्यता रहेको छ । यसमा पात्रकै आधारमा आञ्चलिक भाषाको उस्तो प्रयोग भने देखिँदैन । कथाकारकै भाषिक अभिव्यक्तिगत शैलीको प्रभाव पनि रहेको देखिन्छ । 'भोलिपल्ट जब सूर्यनारायणले पृथ्वीतलका प्राणीहरूलाई फेरि दर्शन दिए अनि दरबारमा सब भाइ-भारदार, मन्त्रीहरू जम्मा भए (पृ.९५) ।' कथाको भाषामा सूर्यनारायणले पृथ्वीतलमा दर्शन दिने सन्दर्भलाई कथाकारको आफ्नो शैलीका हो यद्यपि यसमा पनि पूर्वीय दर्शनको प्रभाव रहेको छ । वास्तवमा कथाकारको आफ्नोपनको अभावविना पनि लोककथा लिखित रूपमा उत्रन सक्दैन । यस कथामा भाषिक प्रयोगका आधारमा केही घटनाको बुनोटभित्र लामा वाक्यको प्रयोग भएको देखिन्छ :

'अब राजकुमारले योगीको भेष धरेर आडभरि खरानी घसी अगाडि चिम्टा गाडेर पञ्चासन कसेर बसे (पृ. ९३) ।' यस वाक्यमा कथाकारले 'राजकुमारले योगीको भेष धारण गरे । आडभरि घरानी घसे । अगाडि चिम्टालाई गाडेर राखे । त्यसपछि पञ्चासन कसे ।' भन्दा अझ बढी मिठास हुन्छ । अतः कतिपय अवस्थामा संयुक्त वाक्यलाई कथाकारले प्रयोग गरेको देखिन्छ । यसमा प्रयुक्त हरेक भाषा बोधगम्य भने छन् । घटनाको अनुक्रमिकता पनि बगेको छ । यसर्थ प्रस्तुत कथामा भाषिक सुगठन र लोककथात्मक भाषाशैलीगत संयोजनमा सचेतता अपनाइएको कुरा प्रष्ट हुन्छ ।

उल्लिखित ढाँचागत विश्लेषणबाट लोककथा संरचनात्मक पक्षसँगै भावगत गहनता र सन्देशको प्रभावले रोचक हुने कुरा पुष्टि भएको छ । मौखिक कथनमा आधारित भए पनि लोककथाको बनोट र संरचना लिखित कथा जस्तै हुन्छ । पारलौकिक विश्वासले लोककथामा कौतुहलको पक्ष बढी बलियो हुन्छ । विशेष गरेर बालबालिकाले यस्ता कथाबाट मनोरञ्जन लिइरहेका हुन्छन् । भारतीय लोकसाहित्यविज्ञ सत्येन्द्रको लोकतत्त्वगत विचारलाई आधार मान्दै पराजुली (२०६२/०६३ : २९) द्वारा प्रस्तुत गरिएको पाँच शीर्षकलाई बाँदनी मैयाँको कथाले मूलतः समेटेको छ :

- अतिकल्पना/स्वैरकल्पनाप्रतिका विश्वासहरू : टोप, खराउ, लट्ठी र मलहममा विश्वास
- जादु, टुनामुना र योगसँग सम्बन्धित विश्वासहरू : सन्त, योगी, साधुको ध्यान तथा मन्त्र

- धर्म र अनुष्ठानप्रतिका विश्वासहरू : सन्तानेश्वर महादेवका भक्त भएकाले सात भाइ छोरा हुनु
- आत्मशीलताप्रतिका विश्वासहरू (मानवेतर प्राणीमा प्राण दिनु) : बाँदनी मैयाँ मान्छेमा परिणत
- विभिन्न लोकविश्वासहरू (श्राप, भविष्यवाणी, भाग्य आदिको विश्वास) : बाँदनी मैयाँलाई श्राप पर्नु र पछि सन्त महात्माद्वारा प्रदान गरिएको शक्तिका प्रभावले नै श्रापमुक्त हुनु ।

यी बुँदागत सन्दर्भलाई बाँदनी मैयाँको कथामा विभिन्न घटनाक्रमभित्र समेटिएको छ । कथातत्त्वको बाह्य पक्षमा पर्ने बनोट मात्र नभएर आन्तरिक तहसम्मको विषयवस्तुबाट प्रस्तुत कथा लोककथात्मक भाव र शिल्पमा कसिलो छ । अतः यस कथाले संरचना र भाव दुवै पक्षबाट लोककथागत पृष्ठाधारलाई समेटेको कुरा पुष्टि हुन्छ ।

७. निष्कर्ष

‘बाँदनी मैयाँको कथा’ लोककथाले नेपाली समाजको तत्कालीन अवस्था र आस्थालाई केही हदमा चिनाएको छ । हाम्रो नेपाली समाजमा कपट गर्ने र सहयोग गर्ने मानिसको स्वभाव पहिल्यैबाट थियो । मानिसहरू भाग्यमा विश्वास गरेर कर्मलाई मान्थे भन्ने कुरा कान्छो राजकुमारले बाँदनीलाई श्रीमतीका रूपमा स्वीकार गर्नु हो । यथार्थभन्दा पर रहेको स्वैरकाल्पनिक अवास्तविक पक्षलाई मान्छेले मन पराउने रहेछ । सम्भव नै नहुने मान्छे र बाँदरको घरबारको घटनालाई श्रापको प्रसङ्ग जोडेर सार्थक बनाइनु कलात्मक सुगठन हो । यस कथाका आधारमा नेपाली समाजमा नारीले पतिप्रेमका लागि मात्र होइन पुरुषले पनि पत्नीप्रेमको आदर्शलाई अपनाउने र त्यागी बन्ने अर्थात् सङ्घर्ष गर्ने परिपाटी थियो भन्न सकिन्छ । यो लोककथाले मनोरञ्जनका साथमा आदर्शवादी बन्ने र साँचो प्रेम सफल हुने सन्देश प्रदान गरेको छ । कान्छो राजकुमारको सफलताका आधारबाट यसमा भाग्य र कर्मको संयोजन पनि छ । यसका अतिरिक्त कर्मवादी बन्नेको जित भएको देखाइएको छ ।

लोककथाको विश्लेषणमा अनिवार्य हुने तत्त्वहरू : कथानक, चरित्र, परिवेश, उद्देश्य र भाषाशैलीका दृष्टिले यो कथा सफल छ । कथाले आफूउपरका व्यक्तिले दिएको अर्तीलाई पनि विचार पुऱ्याएर अवलम्बन गर्नुपर्ने अर्थात् बहकाउमा लाग्न नहुने सन्देशलाई बोध गराउँछ । लोकसाहित्यभित्र विभिन्न सन्देशमा विभिन्न अभिप्रायले मनोरञ्जनका लागि भूमिका खेलेको हुन्छ । लोकसाहित्यमा अभिप्रायले विशिष्टीकरण, असाधारणीकरण वा मानवीकरणका माध्यमबाट चमत्कार उत्पन्न गर्दछ (लुइटेल, २०७५ : २) । यसै आधारमा प्रस्तुत लोककथामा प्रयोग भएका अभिप्रायहरू यस प्रकार रहेका छन् :

- रुखको टोड्काबाट बाँदनी निस्कनु,
- बाँदनी स्वास्नी परम सुन्दरी युवती हुनु,
- बाँदरको खोस्रो जल्दा मैयाँको शरीर जल्नु,

- अदृश्य बनाउने टोप,
- उडाउने खराउ,
- अह्नाएको मान्ने लट्ठी ।

प्रस्तुत लोककथामा आगोले पोलेको स्थानमा लाउने मलहमलाई चाहिँ सामान्य मान्नुपर्छ । हाम्रो दैनिक जीवनमा पनि यसको प्रयोग सामान्य अवस्थामा हुन्छ । यसर्थ माथिका अभिप्रायका आधारमा आएका यी विषय यस लोककथाभिन्न पुनरावृत्ति भइरहेर कथाको समापन भएको छ । अचम्म र अकल्पनीय मनोरञ्जनात्मक चामत्कारिकतालाई माथि उल्लिखित अभिप्रायले विशेष भूमिका खेलेर यो लोककथालाई सार्थक र रोमाञ्चक बनाएको देखिन्छ । यसर्थ लोककथाको कथा संरचना वा ढाँचा अनुरूप विधातात्विक संयोजनका आधारमा प्रस्तुत कथा सबल र प्रभावकारी देखिएको छ ।

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